

HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
DESCENT of the ROMANS,
TO THE
DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.
INSCRIBED TO
His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.
Late of Jesus College, Oxford.

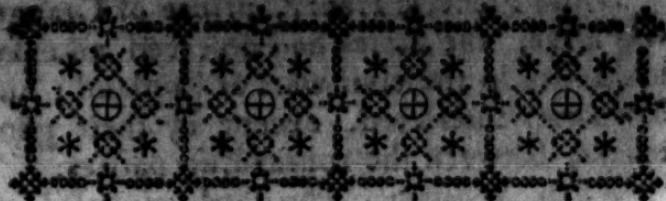
HISTORY is philosophy teaching by examples.
Bolingbroke from Dion, Hall

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THE

History of ENGLAND.



The HISTORY of the COMMON-
WEALTH continued. A. D. 1652.

HE Parliament having now made
themselves masters of the British
dominions, had leisure to look
abroad, and to attend to their
concerns in foreign countries.
The Dutch were the first with whom they
had any material interests to settle.

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While

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While Frederic Henry, prince of Orange, was alive, the States had observed an exact neutrality in the civil wars of England; and had never interferred, except by their good offices, between the contending parties.

When William, who had espoused an English princess, succeeded to his father's commands and authority, the States, both before and after the death of the late king, were accused of discovering a strong partiality in favour of the royal cause, and a great alienation from the parliament.

The envoy of the English commonwealth was obliged to wait a considerable time before he could procure an audience of the states general. No measures were taken to bring the murderers of Dorislaus to condign punishment. And the king himself had received many marks of regard and affection, both from the public, and from men of all ranks in the United Provinces.

After the death of William, prince of Orange, which was followed by the ruin of his party, and the triumph of the republicans, the parliament imagined, that this was the proper time for contracting a more firm alliance with the United Provinces.

St. John, lord chief justice, who was sent over to the Hague, had conceived the notion of incorporating the two commonwealths

wealths into one great republic: but fearing that so extensive a scheme might meet with opposition, he contented himself with dropping some hints of it; and openly went no farther than to propose a strict defensive alliance, betwixt England and Holland; such as has now subsisted for upwards of seventy years, between these commercial states.

But the Dutch, not chusing to enter into a closer confederacy with a government, whose measures were so exceptionable, and whose situation seemed so precarious, agreed only to renew the former alliances with England: and the English envoy, provoked at this refusal, as well as incensed at the insults which he received from the adherents of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed, from the populace in general, returned to his own country, and endeavoured to excite a war between the two nations.

This project he was able to accomplish with the greater ease, on account of the present disposition of the parliament. Though a war with so considerable a naval power as the Dutch, who were blessed with domestic peace, and lived in harmony with all their neighbours, might seem dangerous to the yet new and unsettled common-

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wealth, there were many reasons, which inclined the parliament to hostile measures.

Many of the members imagined, that a foreign war would afford a pretext for continuing the same parliament, and deferring the new model of a representative, with which the people had been so long amused.

Others thought, that the war would produce a necessity of maintaining, some time longer, that numerous army, against which the nation had conceived such a violent aversion. Some, who dreaded the ambition of Cromwell, believed that the great expence of naval armaments would furnish a reason for diminishing the military establishment.

From the superior power of the English commonwealth, together with the advantages of situation, a successful issue might be expected to the war; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to ruin and destroy their flourishing commerce, and by the lustre of their victories to establish the reputation of that government, which was so obnoxious and unpopular. All these motives, seconded by the representations of St. John, who had a great influence over Cromwell, induced the parliament to drop the proposed alliance, and to commence a furious war against the United Provinces.

To

The COMMONWEALTH. 7

To conceal these hostile intentions, the parliament, under pretence of securing the interests of trade, adopted such measures as, they knew, would give offence to the Dutch. They passed the famous act of navigation, prohibiting all nations from bringing into England in their bottoms any commodity, which was not produced and manufactured in their own country.

This law, though seemingly general, was, in reality, levelled against the Dutch, who have few commodities of their own growth, and who chiefly subsist by being the general carriers and factors of the world.

Letters of marque were granted to several merchants, in revenge of some injuries which they had received from the Dutch; and above eighty Dutch ships were taken by the English, and declared lawful prizes. The permitting the murderers of Dorilaus to escape, and the conniving at the affronts offered to their ambassador, were represented as plain indications of the unfriendly disposition of the states.

But the chief subject of complaint, were the cruelties, exercised on the English at Amboyna, which were certainly most enormous; which the last two sovereigns are greatly to be blamed for neglecting to retaliate; and which the parliament, if actuated by a

true

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true sense of national honour, deserve the highest praises for attempting to revenge.

From the friendly advances, however, which they made to the Dutch before the commencement of the war, it is not uncharitable to infer, that this was not their real motive; though that cruel and unprovoked massacre now furnished them with an excellent pretext for those hostile measures, which they were resolved to pursue.

The States foresaw the gathering storm, and endeavoured, if possible, to dispel it. They sent orders to their ambassadors to propose the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broke off by the sudden departure of St. John.

At the same time, in case of an actual rupture, they equipped a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail; but they were so impudent as to command their ministers at London to acquaint the council with that armament.

This intelligence produced the effect which might naturally be expected. Far from alarming the fears, it only aroused the indignation of the English; they considered it as an insolent menace, which they were bound in honour to resent; and they contrived to hasten their naval preparations with the utmost vigour and dispatch. The

minds

minds of men in both States, were daily inflamed to a higher pitch of rancour and animosity; and it was not long before these malignant humours broke out into action.

Tromp, a brave and experienced admiral, was dispatched by the States, with a fleet of forty-five sail, in order to secure the Dutch navigation from the privateers of the English. He was obliged by stress of weather, as he pretended, to take refuge in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet of twenty-six sail.

He no sooner observed the English admiral, than he endeavoured to retire without striking as usual. Blake fired a blank shot in order to remind him of that customary compliment. Without further ceremony or provocation, Tromp returned the salute by a whole broadside. This was a sufficient signal for the battle. Notwithstanding the great disparity of number, Blake maintained the fight with undaunted bravery, for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy, and took another. The approach of night put an end to the combat, and the Dutch withdrew towards the coast of Holland. The populace of London were highly incensed, and would have assaulted the Dutch ambassadors, who resided

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sided at Chelsea, had they not been furnished with a guard for the safety of their persons.

The states were extremely unwilling to engage in a war, and the bad success of this encounter increased still farther their reluctance. Tromp had assured them that he was not the aggressor, and that, while he was preparing to strike his flag, the English admiral began hostilities. They instantly dispatched the pensionary, Paw, as their ambassador extraordinary to London, to represent the matter to the parliament, and to employ every possible expedient for preventing a final rupture.

But the parliament would listen to no remonstrances; they insisted on immediate reparation for all the damages, which the English had sustained: and not being gratified in this demand, they forthwith resolved to commence hostilities.

Blake departing with a numerous fleet, directed his course into the northern seas, and attacked the herring-busses, which were guarded by twelve men of war: all of these he either took or dispersed. Tromp went in quest of him with a fleet of above an hundred sail.

When these two admirals were approaching each other, and disposing their ships in

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The COMMONWEALTH. II

the line of battle, they were overtaken by a furious tempest. Blake got safe into the English harbours. The Dutch fleet was scattered, and received great damage.

Sir George Ayscue, near Plymouth, with thirty-eight ships only, encountered the famous De Ruiter, who commanded a fleet of sixty ships of war, along with thirty merchantmen.

The Dutch ships indeed were inferior in bulk to the English. De Ruiter defended himself with great courage and conduct, until night parted the combatants. Next morning he sailed off with his convoy. The English had suffered so much in the action, that they were unable to pursue the enemy.

Near the coast of Kent, Blake, assisted by Bourne and Pen, attacked the Dutch fleet, nearly equal in number, commanded by De Witte and De Ruiter. In this action, the English had greatly the advantage. They boarded and took the rear admiral of the enemy. They sunk two of their ships, and blew up one: and the Dutch were obliged to fly towards the coast of Holland.

The English were less fortunate in the Mediterranean. Captain Badily was attacked and defeated by Van Galen, with

a much inferior force. The enemy, however, lost their admiral in the action.

Soon after, Tromp, assisted by De Ruyter, met, near the Goodwins, with Blake, whose fleet was inferior to theirs, but who was determined not to decline the engagement. A desperate action ensued, in which the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, performed the most noble and heroic feats.

In this battle, the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himself was wounded. Two ships were taken; two burned, and one sunk. Night came very seasonably to save the English from a total overthrow: and Tromp, elated with this victory, affixed a broom to his maintop-mast, as if he were determined to sweep the sea entirely clear of the English.

Great preparations were made in England in order to retrieve this misfortune. A formidable fleet of eighty sail was equipped. Blake commanded, assisted by Dean, together with Monk, who had been recalled on purpose from Scotland.*

While they lay off Portland, they observed at day-break the Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the channel, with a convoy of three hundred merchantmen, who had been

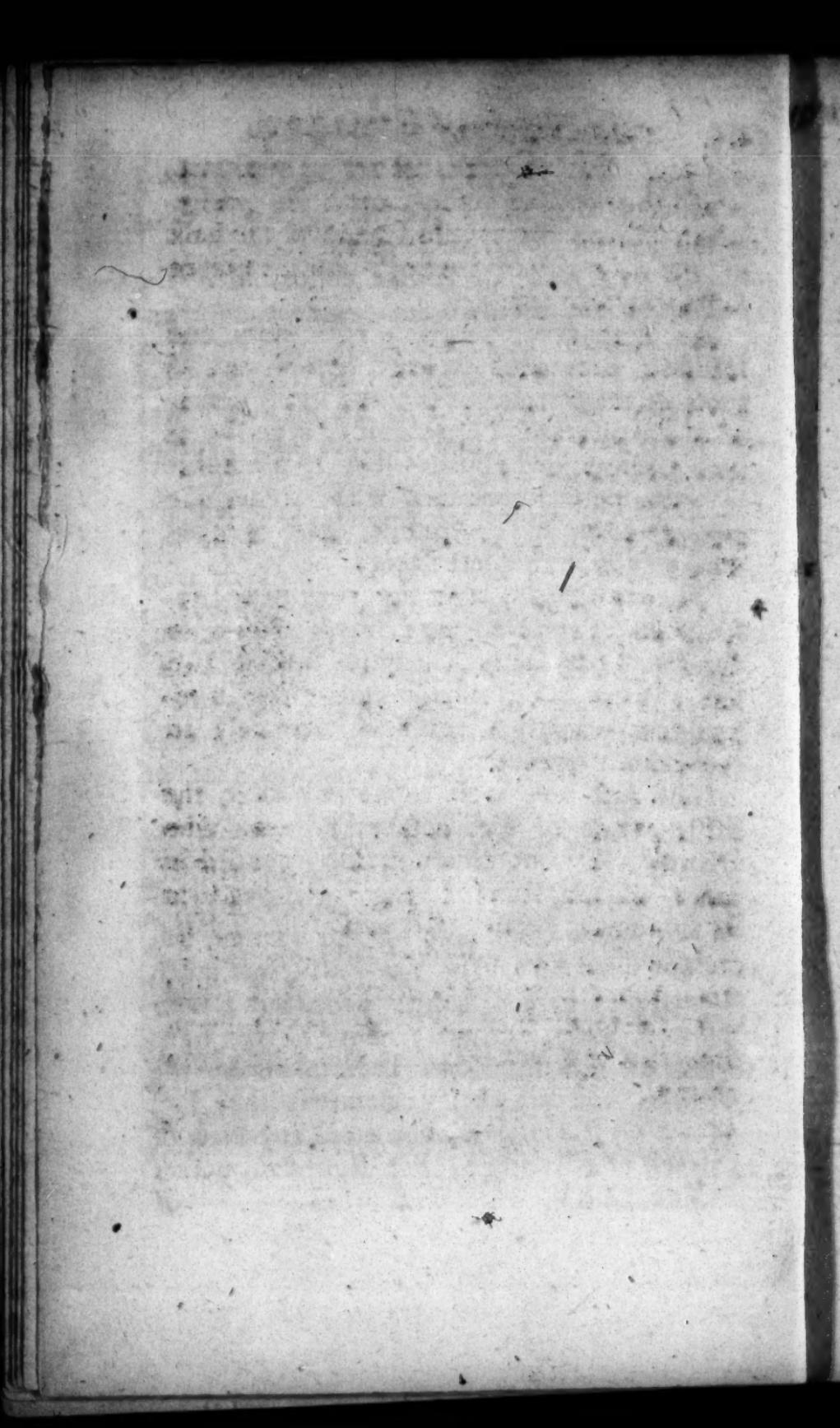
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The Battle of OUDENARDE



J. Smith sculp.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.



ordered to wait at the Isle of Rhé, until the fleet should arrive to guard them.

Tromp and De Ruiter commanded the Dutch, and the two fleets immediately engaged with incredible fury. Three days was the fight continued with the most invincible obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquished.

The Dutch admiral made an excellent retreat, and saved all the merchant ships, except thirty. Eleven of his ships of war, however, were either taken or destroyed; two thousand men were killed, and about fifteen hundred made prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were greatly damaged, had but one sunk. The number of their slain was nearly equal to that of the enemy.

But the loss which the Dutch suffered in battle, was nothing in comparison of that, which their trade sustained from the English. Their whole commerce by the channel was ruined: even that to the Baltic was much interrupted by the English privateers: their fisheries were destroyed: above sixteen hundred of their ships had been taken by the enemy: and all these calamities they had drawn on themselves, not from any view of interest or advantage; but from vain points

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of honour, and national jealousy, of which it was impossible to form any rational idea.

Convinced, therefore, of their utter inability to cope with a power, so much superior, they resolved to court the friendship of the parliament, and to employ every possible expedient towards procuring a speedy accommodation.

They sent a letter to the speaker, proposing a treaty; and this meeting with a favourable reception, they presented an address to the parliament, desiring, that some proper place might be named for opening conferences on the subject: but before these points could be fully adjusted, a period was put to that famous assembly.

The zealous republicans in parliament had not been the chief promoters of the war; yet, when it was once begun, they endeavoured to improve it to their own advantage. They embraced every opportunity of exalting the fleet above the army, and extolled to the skies the glorious successes of their naval armaments.

They represented the intolerable taxes with which the nation was loaded; and thence inferred the absolute necessity of reducing the number of their land forces. Some regiments they had appointed to serve on board the fleet in the character

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of marines: and Cromwell, by the whole train of their conduct, perceived, that they were become jealous of his power and ambition, and were determined to hold him in strict subjection to their authority.

Without hesitation he resolved to prevent them; and as he never lingered in the execution of his projects, he forthwith proceeded to effectuate his purpose. His influence in the army being altogether unlimited, he knew he might safely depend on their assistance in whatever he should attempt.

In a council of officers, it was unanimously voted to draw up a remonstrance to the parliament.

After complaining of the arrears which were owing to the army, they reminded the parliament of the long continuance of that assembly, and of the solemn promises they had given to new model the representative, and establish successive parliaments, who might bear that load of national affairs, from which they themselves, after so much labour and fatigue, would at last be relieved. They acknowledged that the parliament had performed many great and noble achievements, and overcome mighty difficulties; yet was it an injury, they said, to the rest of the

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nation to be denied the privilege of having any share in the service of their country. It now behoved them to give place to others; and, after appointing a council, who might execute the laws during the interval, to convoke a new parliament, and establish that free and equal government, with the hopes of which they had so long flattered the people.

The parliament were highly offended at this remonstrance, and gave a very sharp answer to the council of officers. The officers insisted on their advice; and by mutual dispute and controversy, the breach between the civil and military powers became still wider and more incurable.

Cromwell finding matters ripe for his purpose, assembled a council of officers, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation; and while they were engaged in debates, colonel Ingoldsby entered and informed Cromwell, that the parliament had met, and were come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to supply the vacancies by new elections. Cromwell was no sooner apprized of this circumstance, than he flew to the house, with a body of three hundred soldiers. Some of these he posted at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend,

St.

Sir John, and told him, that he was come with a design of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but, adds he, it is absolutely necessary for the glory of God and the good of the nation.

He sat down for some time, and heard the debates with regard to the act for supplying the vacancies. He whispered Harrison, and told him, that he now thought the parliament ripe for a dissolution. "Sir," said Harrison, "the work is very dangerous, and difficult: I beseech you seriously to consider before you undertake it." "You say well," replied the general; and upon that sat still for a quarter of an hour.

When the debates were finished, and the speaker was going to put the question, he said again to Harrison, "This is the time, I must do it;" and suddenly starting up, he reviled the parliament, in the most bitter terms, for their tyranny, cruelty, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter; "for shame," said he to the parliament, "get you gone: give place to honest men; to those, who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament: I tell you,

" you are no longer a parliament. The Lord
" has done with you ; he has chosen other
" instruments for perfecting his work."

Sir Harry Vane, rising to remonstrate against this outrage, he exclaimed, " O ! Sir, Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane ! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane !" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, " Thou art a whoremaster," said he : to another, " Thou art an adulterer :" to a third : " Thou art a drunkard and a glutton :" " And thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He ordered a soldier to seize the mace. " What shall we do with this fool's bauble ? here take it away." " It is you," said he to the members, " that have driven me to this. I have prayed the Lord, night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon this work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he caused the door to be locked ; and putting the keys in his pocket, retired to his lodging in Whitehall. Thus by one bold and daring effort, without the least bloodshed, or clamour, did Cromwell abolish the new republic ; and unite in his own person the whole power, civil and military, of the three kingdoms.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, the last year of the former century, of

a very good family; though he himself, being the son of a second brother, inherited but a small estate from his father. In the course of his education, he had been sent to the university; but so little was his genius fitted for the calm and elegant pursuits of learning, that he made small progress in his studies. He even addicted himself to a very dissolute and disorderly kind of life; consuming his time and fortune in gaming, drinking, debanchery, and country riots.

At length, he was suddenly seized with the spirit of reformation; he married; affected a grave and composed behaviour; and seemed to vie in holiness with the most rigid of the puritanical party. His house was now turned into a conventicle; and his fortune was soon exhausted by his hospitality to the brethren. Then he took a farm at St. Ives; but neglected his temporal affairs by indulging his religious reveries and illuminaries. Urged by his wants and his devotions, he had formed a party with Hambden his near kinsman, who was pressed only by the latter motive, to transport himself into New-England, now become the retreat of the more zealous among the Puritans; and it was an order of council, which obliged them to disembark, and remain in England.

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When his circumstances were extremely low, he found means to be chosen member of the long parliament for the town of Cambridge; and though he frequently attempted to speak in the house, his elocution was so harsh, tedious, and obscure, that he was not for two years heard with any attention; but was entirely overlooked amidst the herd of ignorant zealots. His friend Hambden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius; and frequently said, that if a civil war should ensue, he would soon rise to eminence and distinction.

Cromwell himself seems to have been sensible where his strength lay; and partly influenced by that motive, partly actuated by the natural vehemence of his temper, he always encouraged every proposal for coming to extremity with the king. He was very active for the famous remonstrance; and, when, after a long debate, it was carried by a small majority, he told lord Falkland, that if they had failed in that point, he and many other gentlemen were resolved to convert their effects into ready money, and immediately to abandon the kingdom.

He was no less than forty-three years of age, when he first engaged in the military profession; and by the mere force of genius, seconded by an indefatigable application,

he

he soon became an excellent officer, though perhaps he never attained the fame of a consummate commander. He raised a troop of horse, fixed his quarters at Cambridge, and exercised great rigour towards that university, which was warmly attached to the royal party.

He soon appeared to be a man, who would flinch at no difficulties, in order to serve the cause, which he had embraced. He would not allow his soldiers to trouble their heads with those nice distinctions of fighting by the king's authority against his person, and of obeying his majesty's orders expressed by both houses of parliament: he plainly told them, that, if he met the king in battle, he would fire a pistol in his face, as readily, as in that of any other man.

His troop of horse he afterwards increased to a regiment, and first introduced that discipline and infused that spirit, which rendered the parliamentary forces, in the end, victorious. "Your troops," said he to Hambden, (as he himself informs us in one of his speeches) "are, most of them, old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows: the king's forces are composed of gentlemen's younger sons and persons of good quality. And do you

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" you think, that the mean spirits of such
" base and low fellows as ours, will ever be-
" able to cope with gentlemen, who have
" honour and courage, and resolution in
" them? You must get men of spirit; and
" take it not ill that I say, of a spirit that is
" likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or
" else I am sure you will still be beaten, as
" you have hitherto been in every ren-
" counter."

This course he immediately pursued. He engaged freeholders and farmers sons. He carefully drew into his regiment all the zealous fanatics in England. When assembled together, their enthusiastic spirit, by the contagion of example, was inflamed to a still higher degree of fervour. Their colonel, as well from the bent of his own temper, as from maxims of policy, was sufficiently disposed to increase the flame. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded. By force of merit, he soon rose to be really the first, though in appearance only the second, in the army. By fraud and violence he at length made himself the first in the state. In proportion to the increase of his power, his talents seemed to be enlarged; and he discovered every day new abilities, which he was never

known

known to possess till the very emergence, that called them forth into action.

All Europe stood amazed to see a nation, so restless and turbulent, who, for encroachments on their liberties, had dethroned and murdered their hereditary prince, now at last subdued, and reduced to slavery by one, who, a few years before, was no better than a private gentleman, whose name was almost unknown in the nation, and who was very little distinguished even in that low sphere, in which fortune had placed him.

The people, however, expressed no resentment at the dissolution of the parliament. On the contrary, Cromwell received congratulatory addresses from the fleet, the army, the chief corporations, and counties, and from several congregations of pretended saints in different parts of the kingdom.

The royalists, though they could not love the man, who had brought their sovereign to a cruel and untimely end, expected more lenity from him, than from the severe and imperious republicans, who had hitherto usurped the government.

The Presbyterians were pleased to see those men, by whom they had been expelled and outwitted, now at last outwitted and expelled by their own servant; and they extolled

extolled him for this last act of violence, which they termed justice, upon the parliament. These two parties composed the bulk of the nation, and retained the people in some tolerable temper.

All men too, wearied with wars and factions, were glad to see a period put to those grievous calamities ; and they deemed it less disgraceful to submit to a person of such distinguished abilities than to a number of enthusiastic hypocrites, who, under the denomination of a republic, had reduced them to the most abject slavery.

The republicans were the party whose resentment Cromwell had most reason to dread. That faction, comprehended two sets of men, who, though concurring in republican principles, differed extremely in every other sentiment.

The first and most numerous were the Millenarians or fifth-monarchy men, who affirmed, that, dominion being founded in grace, all distinction of magistracy ought to be abolished, except what arose from superior holiness ; who expected suddenly the second appearance of Christ upon earth ; and who alledged, that the saints, in the mean time, that is themselves, had alone a right to govern.

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The second were the Deists, who laid claim to an unbounded liberty, both in religion and politics; at least pretended to more freedom than they could hope to enjoy under any monarchy. Martin, Chakloner, Harrington, Sidney, Wildman, Nevil, were considered as the leaders of this dangerous sect.

To the Deists, Cromwell bore an irreconcileable hatred, because, being declared enemies of all revealed religion, they could not be quiet and peaceful members of any regular government: he therefore treated them with great rigour and severity, and usually distinguished them by the appellation of the heathens.

As the Millenarians had great interest in the army, it was of much more consequence to secure their friendship; and their narrow capacity and enthusiastic disposition laid them the more open to his hypocritical arts. Though he had already assumed the supreme authority, he thought proper to amuse them with the appearance of a commonwealth.

He first of all justified his conduct in dissolving the parliament, by a declaration subscribed by all the principal officers of the fleet and army. He then resolved, with their consent, that the sovereign power should be

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entrusted to one hundred and forty-four persons, under the denomination of a parliament.

Nothing could be more artful than Cromwell's choice of these members, who were, most of them, persons of the meanest extraction, and most contemptible intellects, so entirely destitute of knowledge and experience, that he knew they would soon be weary of their new charge, and would be glad to resign into his hands the reins of government, which they were so ill qualified to wield.

He sent a written order to each in particular, requiring them to attend at Whitehall, on the fourth day of July, when, after having harangued them in a long and tedious discourse, he delivered to them an instrument on parchment, subscribed by himself and the principal officers of the army.

This instrument imported, that the whole, or any forty of them, should enjoy and exercise the sovereign authority; that all the subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be bound to obey them till the third day of November in the year following; that, before the expiration of that term, they should elect a like number of representatives to succeed them in the government for one year; and that, for the future,

there

there should be an annual rotation of parliaments.

Thus authorized, they voted themselves, a parliament, and appointed Mr. Rouse for their speaker; and being chiefly composed of fifth-monarchy men, Anabaptists, Antinomians, and Independents, they began their deliberations by seeking the Lord in prayer. This office was performed by eight or ten gifted men of the assembly; and their devotions were protracted to such an immoderate length, as to consume entirely the first day of their meeting.

Next day, they proceeded to the exercise of their civil function; and they immediately took into consideration, the abolition of the clerical order, as favouring of Popery; together with the abrogation of tythes, which they considered as a relict of Judaism.

Learning also and the universities they regarded as heathenish and unnecessary; the common law they denominated a badge of the conquest and of Norman slavery; and threatened the lawyers with the total destruction of their profession. They even took some steps towards the abolition of the high court of chancery; in the room of which they proposed to establish the Mosaical law as the sole system of English jurisprudence.

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Of all the absurd schemes, concerted by these legislators, they had not time to complete any, except that which appointed the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate alone, without the interposition of the clergy.

They soon found that they were become the object of contempt and derision to the whole body of the people. Among the fanatics of the house, there was a very zealous member, much celebrated for his long prayers, sermons and speeches. He was by profession a leather-seller in London; his name Praise-God Barebone.

This ridiculous appellation struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly gave to this assembly the denomination of Barebone's parliament.*

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* The enthusiasts of this age seemed to despise the New Testament in comparison of the old; from which they usually borrowed the names which they bestowed upon their children. The appellations of James, John, Peter, and Andrew, were rejected for those of Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joshua, Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole sentence of scripture was used as a name. Here follow the names of a jury enclosed in the county of Sussex about this time:

Accepted, Trevor of Norham
Redeemed, Compton of Battle,
Faintnot, Hewet of Heathfield,
Make Peace, Heaton of Hare,

God

The Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to engage in a negotiation with this parliament; but, though Protestants, and even Presbyterians, they were treated with the most haughty and distant reserve by those, who affected a degree of sanctity so much superior.

The Hollanders were considered as world-
ly-minded men, devoted entirely to com-
merce and industry, whom it behoved the
saints first to extirpate, before they undertook
that great work, to which they believed
themselves by Providence appointed, of sub-

C 3 dung

God reward, Smart of Fivehurst,
Stand fast on high, Stringer of Crowhurst,
Earth, Adam of Warbleton,
Called, Lower of the same,
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham,
Return, Spelman of Watling,
Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling,
Fly Debate, Roberts of the same,
Fight the good fight of faith, White of Emery,
More Fruit, Fowler of East Hadley,
Hope for, Bending of the same,
Graceful, Harding of Lewes,
Weep not, Billing of the same,
Meek, Brewer of Okehampton.

"Cromwell," says an anonymous author of those times, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our saviour by the names of his regiment. The muster-master has no other list than the first chapter of St. Mathew."

duing anti-chriſt, and preparing the way for
the ſecond appearance of the Redeemer.

The ambafadors, finding themſelves re-
jected, not as the enemies of England, but
of Chriſt, were ſtruck with amazement; and
knew not which was moſt to be admired,
the furious ſpirit or egregious folly of theſe
pretended ſaints.

The proceedings of the parliament were
now become ſo ridiculous, that even Crom-
well began to be abhamed of them. If ever
he had any other view in convoking ſo pre-
poſterous an assembly, except that of amu-
ſing the populace and army; he had intend-
ed to intimidate the clergy and lawyers;
and he had ſo far ſucceeded as to make them
wifh for any other government, which might
ſecure their professions, now exposed to the
moſt imminent danger by theſe illiterate
fanatics.

Cromwell himſelf was diſpleased, that the
parliament, though they had derived all
their authority from him, began to pretend
to a power from the Lord, and to iſſit al-
ready on their divine commission.

He had taken the precaution to ſummon in
his wits ſeveral persons, intirely devoted to
his intereſt; and who were ever ready to af-
fili him in all his projects. By private agree-
ment theſe met early; and it was obſerved
by

by some of them, that the longer continuance of this parliament could be of no real service to the public. They repaired, therefore, to Cromwell, along with Rouse, their speaker ; and by a formal deed resigned back into his hands that supreme authority, with which they had been so lately invested,

General Harrison, with about twenty other fanatics, remained in the house ; and, that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and begun to draw up protests against the proceedings of their brethren. They were soon interrupted by colonel White, with a party of soldiers. He asked them what they were doing. " We are seeking the Lord," said they. " Then you may go elsewhere," replied he, " for, to my certain knowledge, " he has not been here these several years."

The military being now in appearance, as well as in reality, the sole power which ruled the nation, Cromwell resolved to adopt a new project : for he seems not, in all these alterations, to have had any fixed and regular plan.

Lambert, his creature, proposed, in a council of officers, to devise another scheme of government, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a single

single person, who should be distinguished by the name of protector.

He forthwith prepared the instrument of government, containing the plan of this new legislature ; and as it was supposed to be agreeable to the general, it was instantly voted by the council of officers. Cromwell was proclaimed protector ; and with great solemnity was installed into that high office.

The instrument of government imported, that a council should be appointed, which was not to exceed twenty one, nor be less than thirteen persons : that these should enjoy their office during life or good behaviour ; and, in case of vacancy, the remaining members should name three, of whom the protector should chuse one ; that the protector should be considered as ~~the~~ supreme magistrate of the commonwealth ; in whose name all justice was to be administered ; from whom all magistracy and all honours were to be derived ; who should have the power of pardoning all crimes, except murder and treason ; and enjoy the benefit of all forfeitures : that he should be vested with the right of making peace, war, and alliances ; though in these particulars he was to act solely by the advice and with the consent of his council : that he should be intrusted with the power of the sword,

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in conjunction with the parliament, while sitting, or with the council of state in the intervals : that a parliament should be summoned every three years, and allowed to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution : that the bills, which they enacted, should be presented to the protector for his consent ; and if, within twenty days, it was not obtained, they should pass into laws by the authority alone of the parliament : that a standing army should be appointed for Britain and Ireland, consisting of twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse ; and funds allotted for their maintenance ; nor should these be diminished without the consent of the protector ; in which particular alone he claimed the right of a negative : that, during the intervals of parliament, the protector and council should possess the power of enacting laws, which were to be in force, till the first meeting of parliament : that the chancellor, treasurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief justices of both benches, should be chosen with the approbation of parliament ; and, in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by the parliament : that the protector should enjoy his office during life ; and on his death, the place should be imme-

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immediately filled by the council. Such was the instrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and which Cromwell took a solemn oath to observe. The first council of state consisted of fifteen members; all of them devoted to the protector, and, on account of their secret disagreement in party and principles, not very likely ever to combine against him.

While the civil government of England was in this precarious, unsettled condition, the military force was exerted with a vigour, courage, and unanimity which had never been exceeded during the most regular administration... The Dutch fleet, consisting of an hundred sail, was commanded by Tromp: the English, amounting to the same number, was conducted by Monk and Dean, and, under them, by Pen and Lawson.

These two powerful squadrons met on the coast of Flanders, and immediately engaged with incredible fury. After a battle of two days, in the first of which Dean was slain, the Dutch, inferior in the size of their ships, were obliged, with great loss, to withdraw into their harbours. The English, towards the end of the fight, were joined by eighteen fresh ships, under the command of Blake; and, thus reinforced, they lay off

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the coast of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of the enemy.

The ambassadors, whom the Dutch had sent into England, flattered them with the hopes of a speedy accommodation : but as they could not procure a truce, the states, unwilling to suffer any longer the damage and disgrace of being blockaded by their enemy, endeavoured, if possible, to retrieve their honour.

Never, on any occasion, did that state exert itself with greater spirit and activity. In a few weeks they had refitted their fleet ; and they equipped some larger vessels than any which they had hitherto employed. Tromp sailed forth, with a fixed resolution to give battle to the victors, and either to repair his late misfortune or to die in the struggle.

He met the English, commanded by Monk ; and the fight immediately begun with the utmost impetuosity. Tromp, bravely encouraging his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musquet ball. This event alone determined the fate of the battle. The Dutch, dispirited by the death of their gallant admiral, began to give way on all sides ; and at last retired into their harbours with the loss

of thirty of their best ships, which were either sunk or taken.

Meanwhile the negotiations of peace were carried on with great activity. The States, exhausted by the expences of the war, intimidated by their losses, and disheartened by their defeats, were extremely desirous of putting an end to a quarrel, which had already cost them so much blood and treasure. The king had expressed a desire to serve on board their fleet; but though they returned him their grateful acknowledgements for the honour he designed them, they yet declined to accept an offer, which might inflame the animosity between them and the English commonwealth.

The great obstacle to the peace arose, not from any resentment in the English, but, on the contrary, from too eager a desire of union and confederacy. Cromwell had revived the ridiculous project of an incorporation with the United Provinces, and a perfect conjunction of government, privileges, interests, and councils.

This scheme was considered by the States as so wild and chimerical that they wondered how any man of sense could ever entertain it; and they flatly refused to enter into conferences with regard to a measure, which could

could only tend to retard a final accommodation.

At last, after much dispute and altercation, the peace was signed by Cromwell, and consisted of the following articles*. A defensive league was concluded between the two republics. They engaged, each of them, to banish the enemies of the other : such of those concerned in the massacre of Amboyna as were still alive, were to be severely punished : the honour of the flag was yielded to the English : eighty-five thousand pounds were to be paid by the Dutch East-India company, as an indemnification for the losses which the English company had suffered : and the island of Polerone, in the East-Indies, was to be ceded to the latter.

Cromwell, jealous of the connections between the family of Stuart and that of Orange, demanded, in a separate article, that neither the prince nor any of his family should ever be advanced to the dignity of stadholder.

The province of Holland, always averse from that office, which they considered as prejudicial to liberty, secretly agreed to this article. The protector, conscious that he could never obtain the consent of the other

provinces, was obliged to accept of that security.

The good success of the Dutch war, and the advantageous terms of the peace, contributed greatly to increase the reputation of Cromwell. An act of justice, which he performed about this time, tended still further to recommend him to the favour of the public.

Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, having received, as he imagined, an affront in London, repaired to the Exchange, armed and accompanied by several servants.

Unhappily, they attacked a gentleman, whom he mistook for the person that had offered him the insult, and having murdered him in a most barbarous manner, they all took refuge in the house of the Portuguese ambassador, who had been privy to this base attempt.

The populace instantly surrounded the house, and threatened to reduce it to ashes. Cromwell sent a guard, who apprehended the criminals. They were immediately brought to tryal, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the ambassador, who insisted on the privileges of his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill; and several of his accomplices were hanged at Tyburn.

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The laws of nations were here supposed to be violated : but the crime committed by the Portuguese gentleman was of such a shocking and atrocious nature, that the punishment inflicted upon it was universally applauded ; and the conduct of Cromwell was highly approved, not only by the people of England, but by all impartial foreigners.

The Portuguese were, at that time, in no condition to resent or revenge this open indignity ; and the ambassador soon after concluded with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, extremely advantageous to the English nation.

About the same period, Cromwell exercised an act of severity, but one which was absolutely necessary in his situation, upon two royalists, Gerard and Vowel, who were charged with having formed a conspiracy against his life.

These persons were tried and condemned by a high court of justice, which was erected on purpose ; the protector, from repeated experiments, having found it unsafe, in the present discontented humour of the nation, to trust to the equity and impartiality of juries.

Cromwell had occasion to observe the unpopular nature of his government, by

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the refractory disposition of the parliament, which he convoked on the third of September, that day of the year, on which he obtained his two great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and which he always considered as peculiarly auspicious.

In order, if possible, to secure the confidence of the people, or at least to amuse them with an appearance of moderation, he allowed the elections to be conducted with the most perfect freedom and regularity; and even made some innovations, which, far from being prejudicial, were extremely favourable to liberty; and are well worthy the imitation of the present age.

He excluded from a right of election, all the small boroughs, which are so subject to bribery and influence. Of four hundred members, returned by England, two hundred and seventy were chosen by the counties. The rest were elected by London and the more substantial corporations. The lower populace too, so easily deceived or corrupted, were debarred the right of election; nor was any one allowed to vote, who did not possess an estate of the value of two hundred pounds.

No indirect methods were employed to influence the electors; and excepting that such of the royalists as had borne arms for

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the late king and all their sons were excluded; a more free and unbiassed parliament could not possibly have been procured. Scotland was represented by thirty members: Ireland by the same number.

But all the arts of the protector were not sufficient to reconcile the people to his government, or to remove the suspicions which they had entertained of his arbitrary and tyrannical intentions.

The parliament had no sooner met, and chosen Lenthal for their speaker, than they immediately entered into a discussion of the pretended instrument of government, and of that authority, which, under the title of protector, he had usurped over the nation. They inveighed against this new dignity with the utmost virulence, nor did they even spare the personal character of Cromwell himself.

The friends of the protector, conscious of their own weakness, endeavoured to elude the attacks of their antagonists by long and tedious speeches, and to prevent, if possible, the decision of a question, which, they plainly perceived, would be carried, by a great majority, against them.

Cromwell, surprized and incensed at this refractory disposition in the parliament, which, however, he had so much reason to

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expect, commanded their attendance in the painted chamber, where he reproached them with their presumption in the most bitter terms. He told them, that nothing could be more absurd than for them to arraign his title; since the same instrument of government, which constituted them a parliament, had entrusted him with the protectorship; that some points in the new constitution were to be considered as fundamentals, and were not on any account to be called into question; that among these were to be numbered the government of the nation, by one person and a parliament; their common authority over the army and militia; the regular rotation of parliaments, and liberty of conscience; and that, with regard to those articles, he claimed a negative voice, to which, in other affairs of state, he acknowledged that he had no title.

The protector now found himself obliged to require a security, which, had he foreseen the opposition of the house, he would with a much better grace have demanded at their first meeting. He compelled the members to sign a recognition of his authority and an engagement faithfully to adhere to the present government, as vested in a single person and a parliament; and he

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or rather domineered over the members.

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planted guards at the door of the house, who suffered none but subscribers to enter.

Most of the members, though with some difficulty, agreed to this condition; but still preserved the same independent spirit, which they had discovered in their first debates. They again took into consideration the instrument of government, which they canvassed and examined with the most scrupulous accuracy; they employed the greatest freedom and even severity in their speeches and reflections: and, during the whole course of their transactions, they neither presented one law to the protector, nor seemed to pay him the least regard.

Cromwell, apprized of these vigorous proceedings, and hearing, besides, that conspiracies were formed between the members and some malecontent officers of the army, resolved immediately to dissolve a parliament, which threatened the ruin of his new authority.

By the instrument of government, to which he had sworn, no parliament could be dissolved, till after a session of five months: but the protector alledged, that a month consisted only of twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation observed in paying the fleet and army.

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The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being now expired, Cromwell sent for the parliament to the painted chamber, where, after addressing them in a long, tedious, and confused harangue, he instantly dissolved them with marks of the highest displeasure.*

The meeting of a discontented parliament is always a sure sign of a discontented nation : the hasty and abrupt dissolution of that parliament, never fails to inflame the discontent to a higher degree of malignity. The members of this assembly, returning to their several counties, carried along with them that spirit of disaffection, which they had discovered in the house.

Sir Harry Vane and the old republicans, who asserted the indissoluble authority of the long parliament, fomented these murmurs against the present usurpation ; though they acted with so much caution and reserve, as to screen themselves from the suspicion, at least from the vengeance of the protector. Wildman and some others of that party, carried their hatred against the protector's authority to a greater and more dangerous length.

The royalists, seeing this general disaffection towards the government, could no long-

longer be held in subjection ; but imagined, that every one, who was displeased like them, had also adopted their views and sentiments. They forgot, that all the old parliamentary party, though many of them were disgusted with Cromwell, who had robbed them of their authority, were still more averse to the royal cause ; from which, besides a certain prospect of the same inconvenience, they had reason to apprehend the severest vengeance for their past conduct.

In concert with the king a conspiracy was formed by the royalists throughout England ; and a day was fixed for a general insurrection. Cromwell was soon informed of this design. His administration was remarkable for vigour and vigilance. Thurloe, his secretary, had spies in every quarter. Manning, one of the king's domestics, maintained a regular correspondence with him. And it was not difficult to procure intelligence of a plot, so generally known among a party, who were more distinguished by their zeal and courage, than by their secrecy and sobriety. Several of the royalists were seized and imprisoned. Others, on the approach of the day, were alarmed at the danger of the enterprize, and remained quiet.

In one place alone an insurrection was raised. Penruddoc, Grove, Jones, and other gentlemen of the west, assembled about two hundred horse, with which they entered Salisbury, at the very time when the sheriff and judges were holding the assizes. These they made prisoners; and proclaimed the king. Contrary to there expectations, they were joined by none of their associates; the terror of the present government kept every one in awe. Despairing of all hopes of assistance, they abandoned Salisbury, and wandered about that country, till their numbers were greatly diminished, so that one troop of horse was at last able to suppress them. The leaders of the conspiracy, being taken prisoners, were condemned and executed. The rest were transported to the plantations.

Cromwell, enraged at this attempt of the royalists, determined to humble their mutinous spirit by some severe chastisement. With this view he issued an edict for decimating that whole party; in order, as he alledged, to make them defray the expences, to which their restless disposition continually exposed the public.

Without regard to compositions, articles of capitulation, or acts of grace, all the royalists, however exhausted by former expences and extortions, were now compelled

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ed to purchase their indemnity by great sums of money; and many of them were, by these numerous oppressions, involved in extreme poverty.

Whoever was known to be attached to the royal family, or was even suspected of such an attachment, though no guilt could be proved against him, was exposed to this arbitrary exaction.

In order to levy an imposition, so cruel and oppressive, the protector appointed twelve major-generals, among whom he parcelled out the whole kingdom of England.

These men, in conjunction with commissioners, were empowered to decimate whom-ever they pleased, to raise all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to seize and imprison any person who should incur their jealousy or suspicion; nor was there any appeal from their decision but to the protector himself and his council.

Under pretext of these powers, which were sufficiently exorbitant, the generals assumed an authority still more unlimited, and acted as if they had been absolute masters of the property and person of every subject.

Cromwell, having now reduced the kingdom, if not to a perfect obedience, at least

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to a total subjection, had leisure to look abroad and attend to his concerns in foreign countries.

The famous war of Germany, occasioned by the Palatine's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia, and which had now raged with great violence for the space of thirty years, was at last terminated by the treaty of Westphalia. The young Palatine was restored to part of his dominions ; and the rights and privileges of the several members of the Germanic body were thoroughly fixed and ascertained.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had hitherto supported the Protestant interest in Germany, was succeeded on the throne by his daughter Christina ; and that princess, tired of the fatigues of royalty, had resigned the crown to her kinsman Charles Gustavus, who trod in the steps of the great Adolphus ; and carried his arms to the south side of the Baltic.

In France cardinal Richlieu, desirous of humbling the house of Austria, had artfully encouraged the troubles against Charles the First of England. His successor Mazarine pursued the same plan of politics too far ; for, instead of maintaining the balance between the king and parliament, he suffered Charles

to be totally subdued, and a much more formidable power to be erected on his ruins.

He sacrificed the interests of Charles the second to his fear of disobliging the new republic, by which he was so little regarded, that their fleet attacked the French navy on their way to the relief of Dunkirk, which was besieged by the Spaniards, and which by that means, fell into the hands of the enemy. The cardinal thought proper to digest this affront; and even sent ambassadors to London to solicit the protector's friendship.

The court of Spain had observed the same conduct with regard to the troubles of England; and had discovered a strong partiality in favour of the parliament. True it is, that, after the death of Charles the first, they received lord Cottington and chancellor Hyde, as ambassadors from the young king; but they received them coldly, and disappointed them in the purport of their embassy, which was to procure some supply of money for their indigent prince.

Ascham, sent thither as their envoy, was murdered by some Irish officers at Madrid; and the court of Spain either could not or would not deliver up the authors of this outrage; though one of them were actually seized.

Whether the protector was provoked at this incident, or influenced by other motives, it is hard to determine : certain it is, that, according to the maxims of sound politics, he ought to have supported the declining fortunes of Spain against the growing power of France : but he had concluded a treaty with Charles the tenth of Sweden, who was engaged in a strict alliance with the French court ; and he was unwilling to take any step which might disgust his new ally, of whose friendship he was extremely ambitious.

These political considerations were further reinforced by religious motives. He hoped, that his alliance with France would enable him to procure some indulgence for the Protestants of that kingdom. He considered the Spaniards as a bigotted and superstitious people, blindly attached to the errors of Popery, and slaves to the inquisition, which he mortally hated.

He imagined, that the extensive dominions and extreme weakness of Spain would render it easy for him to make some important conquest, and to distinguish his government by some signal enterprize, which might reconcile the nation to that illegal authority, which he had so violently usurped. He had already devoured in fancy, the wealth of the Spanish

Spanish West-Indies : he was cajolled and encouraged by the artful Mazarine : and prompted by all these motives, he resolved to adhere to the interests of France, and to declare war against the Spanish monarchy.

With this view he equipped two considerable squadrons ; and while employed in these preparations, all the neighbouring nations, ignorant of his intentions, remained in mute astonishment, and looked with the utmost anxiety on what side the storm would fall. One of the squadrons, amounting to thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake, the fame of whose valour was now diffused over the greatest part of Europe.

Blake presenting himself before Leghorn, demanded and obtained of the Grand Duke reparation for some damages, which the English commerce had formerly suffered from him. He next directed his course towards Algiers, and obliged the Dey to make peace, and to prohibit his tyrannical subjects from committing any farther violence on the English.

He afterwards sailed to Tunis, and having made the same demands, the Dey of that republic bade him look to the castles of Porto-Farino and Goletta, and thence receive his answer. Blake waited not for a

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second challenge; his ships he drew up close to the castles, and tore them in pieces with the thunder of his cannon.

He manned his long boats with a number of hardy sailors, and sending them into the harbour, destroyed and sunk every ship which was there stationed. The Dey, confounded at this disaster, and trembling for the safety of his small republic, was obliged to implore the mercy of the admiral, and to submit to every condition which the latter was pleased to impose.

The attempts of the other squadron were not attended with the same success. It was commanded by Pen, and had on board four thousand men under the conduct of Venables. They were reinforced by about five thousand men from Barbadoes and St. Christophers.

Both these officers were secretly attached to the royal cause; and it is affirmed, that Cromwell was obliged to precipitate the execution of the enterprize before the preparations were fully completed, in order to prevent the breaking out of a conspiracy, which was formed against his government. To this circumstance, no less than to the bad behaviour of the officers, is commonly ascribed the ill success of the expedition.

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It was resolved to attack St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola. On their approach, the Spaniards, struck with a sudden panic, abandoned their houses, and fled into the woods. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Venables, the soldiers were landed without guides at the distance of ten leagues from the town.

They wandered about in the woods for four days without provisions, and, what was still more intolerable in that sultry climate, without water. The Spaniards had time to recover from their surprise, and returning to the town, put themselves in a posture of defence.

The English, disheartened by the bad conduct of their officers, and exhausted with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, had no spirit for a vigorous assault. A small number of the enemy was able to repulse the whole army; and, after killing about six hundred of them, they drove the rest on board their vessels.

To atone, if possible, for this miscarriage, the fleet presented itself before Jamaica, which submitted at the first summons. Pen and Venables, on their return to England, was instantly imprisoned by order of the protector, who, though commonly master

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of his violent temper, was highly incensed at their imprudent conduct.

He had made a conquest of much greater consequence, than he himself at that time was sensible ; yet was it greatly inferior to the mighty expectations which he had formed of the enterprize. He supplied it, however, with men and money ; and that island soon became, what it still continues, a very flourishing and wealthy colony.

The king of Spain was no sooner informed of these hostilities, than he instantly gave orders for confiscating all the effects belonging to the English in his dominions ; and the Spanish trade was entirely transferred to the Dutch, who soon indemnified themselves for the losses, which they had suffered in the war with England.*

Meanwhile Blake, being joined by Montague, had received new orders, and prepared himself for acting against the Spaniards in the Mediterranean. After having cruised for some time off Cadiz, in hopes of intercepting the plate fleet, he was obliged, for want of water, to make sail towards Portugal.

Captain Stayner, whom he had left on the station with seven ships, soon despatched the galleons,

galleons, and immediately gave chace to them. The Spanish admiral and two of his captains ran their vessels ashore; but two ships, richly laden, fell into the hands of the English, and two were set on fire.

In one of these the marquis of Badajox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and daughter affianced to the young duke of Medina-Celi, were unhappily destroyed. The marquis might have saved himself; but seeing these unfortunate women, thunderstruck with the sudden danger, fall into a swoon and perish in the flames, he chose rather to die with the dear partners of his heart, than to drag out a life imbibited by the remembrance of such dismal calamities. When the prizes arrived at Portsmouth, the protector gave orders, that the treasure should be transported to London in waggons, which proceeded in triumph through the city.

The next action against the Spaniards was productive of more glory, though of less advantage to the nation. Blake, understanding that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken refuge among the Canaries, immediately directed his course towards these islands.

He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, disposed in a very formidable posture. The bay

bay was defended by a strong castle, well furnished with cannon, besides seven forts in several parts of it, all united by a line of communication, and supplied with a good number of musqueteers. Don Diego Diaz, the Spanish admiral, had moored his smaller vessels close to the shore, and the larger galleons farther off, with their broad-sides to the sea.

Blake was rather animated than discouraged by this warlike appearance. Favoured by a brisk gale, which blew full into the bay, he instantly rushed forward, and in a moment was engaged among the thickest of the enemy. After an obstinate struggle of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to the English valour, and quitted their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure.

The greatest danger still remained to the English. They were exposed to the fire of the castle and forts, which must, in a short time, have done them considerable damage. But the wind shifting, so as to blow from the shore, enabled them to weather the bay ; where they left the Spaniards equally confounded at their own loss, and the happy temerity of their undaunted victors.

This was the last and greatest action of the illustrious Blake. He had long been afflicted

sick with a dropsy and scurvy ; and now finding his end approaching, he hastened home ; that he might resign his breath in his native country, which he so ardently loved, and which he had so much adorned by his bravery. As he approached the English coast, he expired.

Never man, so devoted to a party, was so much esteemed and regarded even by the opposite parties. By principle, he was a steady republican ; and the late usurpations, notwithstanding his seeming acquiescence, were supposed to be very disagreeable to him. "It is still our duty," would he say to the seamen, "to fight for our country, "in whatever hands the government may "be lodged."

The protector, charmed with his extraordinary merit, and overwhelmed with grief at his unhappy fate, which he justly considered as a national loss, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge : but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory.

Cromwell, conscious of his own unpopularity, endeavoured to engage the affections of the people by an impartial administration of justice. The benches were filled with judges of incorruptible integrity, who gave their decisions without respect of persons.

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The nature of his government, indeed, obliged him to act arbitrarily in some particular instances, as in the cases of Vane and Lilburn; whose great credit with the republicans and levellers, the declared enemies of his authority, rendered it necessary to confine them some time in prison.

For his own safety he likewise found it requisite to deprive Harrison, Overton, Rich, and Okey of their commissions; because they had great influence in the army, and strenuously opposed him from the time of his assuming the office of protector.

The better to restrain the wild and enthusiastic spirit of the soldiers, a kind of militia was established in the several counties: companies of infantry and cavalry were enlisted under proper officers, regular pay distributed among them, and a resource by this means provided both against the insurrections of the royalists, and the mutiny of the army.

In order to maintain the appearance of a national church, Cromwell appointed commissioners, partly ecclesiastics, partly laymen, who, under the name of Tryers, examined the morals and qualifications of those who were candidates for the ministry; and such as were admitted, they presented occasionally to the livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown.

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Full liberty of conscience was granted to all but Papists and Prelatists ; and even the clergy of the English church enjoyed greater freedom under his government, than they had been able to obtain under that of the republican parliament.

The royalists he overawed, both by the mercenary army which he kept on foot, and by those secret spies, which he found means to intermingle in all their councils.

Manning being discovered and put to death, he bribed Sir Richard Willis, who was much trusted by chancellor Hyde ; and by means of that man he was fully informed of all the cabals and intrigues of the party.

Any project he could easily defeat by confining the persons who were concerned in it ; and as he restored them afterwards to liberty, his severity was considered only as the effect of general jealousy and suspicion. The secret source of his intelligence, mean while, remained unknown and unsuspected.

He seems to have been particularly apprehensive of conspiracies for an assassination ; these being designs which no prudence could foresee, and no vigour prevent. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had wrote a very spirited discourse, recommending to every one this method of vengeance ; and Cromwell knew that the royalists, enraged by the memory

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memory of past severities, as well as by the pressure of present hardships were sufficiently inclined to adopt this doctrine.

He plainly told them, that assassinations were base and unmanly, and he would never commence hostilities by so detestable a practice ; but if the first attempt or provocation came from them, he would retaliate upon them without mercy. He had instruments, he said, on whom he could depend, and whom he could employ in exterminating the whole royal family. To this menace, more than to all his guards, he owed the security and protection of his person.

About this period, the protector had well nigh met with that fate from an accident, which he so much dreaded from the hands of his enemies,

Having received a present, from the count of Oldenburg, of six fine Friesland coach-horses, he undertook, for his amusement, to drive them about Hyde Park ; his secretary, Thusloe, being in the coach. The horses were startled and ran away : he was unable to restrain their fury, or to keep the box. He was thrown on the pole, was dragged upon the ground for some time ; a pistol, which he had in his pocket, went off ; and, by that singular good fortune, which ever attend-

attended him, he was taken up without any considerable hurt.

Notwithstanding his sudden elevation from the rank of a private gentleman to that of a sovereign magistrate, Cromwell supported his new dignity with proper majesty and decorum. Among his old friends, indeed, he could freely unbend his mind; and, by trifling and amusement, jesting and making verses, he feared not to expose himself to their most familiar approaches.

With others, he sometimes carried matters to the length of rustic buffoonery; and he would divert himself by dropping burning coals into the boots and hose of the officers, who attended his person. Before the king's trial, a meeting was held by the leaders of the republican party and the general officers, in order to digest the model of that free government, which they proposed to establish in place of the monarchy, now totally overthrown.

After the debates on this subject, the most serious and important, which could come under the consideration of human creatures, Ludlow informs us, that Cromwell, in a frolic, threw a cushion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cushion, in order to repay the favour, the General ran

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down stairs, and had almost broken his bones in the hurry.

When the high court of justice was signing the king's sentence, a matter, if possible still more interesting, Cromwell took the pen in his hand, and, before he subscribed his name, besmeared with ink the face of Martin, who sat next to him. Martin, had no sooner received the pen, than he instantly returned the compliment to the General.

He frequently invited his inferior officers to an entertainment, and when the meat was set upon the table, the soldiers, receiving a private signal, broke in with great confusion, and seized and ran off with all the dishes, leaving the hungry officers to seek for a dinner in some other place.

Under pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one commonwealth with England, he had subjected these kingdoms to a state of slavery: and he treated them, in a great measure, as conquered provinces. The civil administration of Scotland was vested in a council, composed mostly of English, of which lord Broghill was president. Justice was dispensed by seven judges, four of whom were English.

In order to curb the tyrannical nobility, he abolished vassalage, and revived the office

vice of justice of peace, which king James had introduced, but had not been able fully to establish. He supported a long line of forts and garrisons, which reached from one end of the kingdom to the other: he maintained an army of ten thousand men, the better to prevent any insurrections: he courted and caressed the Presbyterian clergy; though he still fomented the intestine enmity which prevailed between the resolutioners and protesters: he discontinued the practice of ecclesiastical assemblies, from which he dreaded the strongest opposition: and, in a word, the Scots were obliged to own, that, though, in some measure deprived of their liberty, they had never, in any former period of their government, enjoyed a greater share of domestic tranquillity.

The administration of Ireland was much more rigid and severe. The government of that island was committed, first to Fleetwood, an enthusiastic bigot, who had espoused Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwell, second son to the protector, a young man of the most amiable manners, and not devoid of vigour and capacity,

Five millions of acres, forfeited either by the Popish rebels or by the adherents of the king, were divided, partly among the adventurers, who had furnished money to the

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parliament, partly among the English soldiers, as an equivalent for their arrears.

An act was even passed for confining all the native Irish to the province of Connaught, where they would be hemmed in by rivers, lakes, and mountains, and would be no longer able to disturb the English government: but this ridiculous policy, which, from too eager a desire of obtaining immediate security, must have entirely depopulated the other provinces, and diminished the value of the English estates, it was found impossible to carry into practice.

Cromwell thought that he had now established his authority on such a firm foundation, that in order to make it as lasting as it was extensive, it wanted nothing but the consent of a national assembly.

He therefore, convoked a parliament; but, as he had no confidence in the good will of the people, he employed every art to influence the elections, and to fill the house with his own creatures.

The Irish, being overawed by the army, returned none but such officers, as were most attached to his interest. The Scots discovered the same complaisance; and as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom considered their attendance on English parliaments

ments rather as a badge of slavery than a mark of honour, it was easy for the officers to prevail in the elections.

All these expedients, however, did not answer the protector's expectations. He still found the majority against him. He therefore, placed guards at the door of the house, who suffered none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and this they could not obtain without recognizing the protector's authority, and promising to support it to the utmost of their power.

The members, excluded by this stratagem, who amounted to no less than a hundred, protested strongly against such an outrage; but every application for address was rejected both by the council and the parliament.

By these various arts and contrivances, the protector secured an undisputed majority; and he fondly imagined he should now be able to accomplish all his ambitious projects. The parliament voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stewart or any of his family; and this was the first act of that nature, which had the least appearance of a parliamentary sanction.

In order to discover the inclination of the house, a motion was made by colonel Jephson, for conferring the crown on Oliver Cromwell; and no surprise or aversion was

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shown by any of the members. When Cromwell afterwards asked Jephson what tempted him to make such a proposal; "As long," said Jephson, "as I have the honour to sit in parliament, I must follow the dictates of my own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unhappy as to give to your highness." This was the only species of flattery which now remained. "Get thee gone," said Cromwell, giving him a gentle blow on the shoulder; "get thee gone for a mad fellow as thou art."

In order to promote this important project, Cromwell determined to sacrifice his major-generals, who had now incurred the hatred and resentment of the whole nation. That measure was likewise become necessary for his own safety. The major-generals, being vested with so much distinct jurisdiction, began to lay claim to an independent authority, and to throw off their allegiance to the protector: but this inconvenience, though he had not foreseen it, he took care, before it was too late, effectually to prevent.

Claypole, his son in law, in whom he repose great confidence, abandoned them entirely to the pleasure of the house; and though the name was still preserved, it was resolved

to circumscribe, or rather wholly to abolish, the power of these petty tyrants.

At last, a more formal motion was made by alderman Pack, one of the city-members, for advancing Cromwell to the royal dignity. This proposal occasioned great disorder, and threw the whole house into parties. The chief opposition proceeded from the major-generals and such officers as were attached to their interest.

Lambert, a man of deep intrigue and great influence in the army, had long entertained the ambitious hopes of succeeding Cromwell in the office of protector; and he plainly perceived, if monarchy was restored, that hereditary right would also be confirmed, and the crown continued in the family of the prince first elected.

He therefore, pleaded conscientious motives; and awakening all those civil and religious jealousies against royal authority, which had been so carefully infused into the soldiers, and which furnished them with a pretext for so many violences, he formed a numerous and still more powerful party against the proposal.

But notwithstanding all his opposition, the motion was approved by a great majority; the bill was brought in; and a committee appointed to reason with the protec-
tor,

tor, and to overcome those scruples which might prevent him from accepting so liberal an offer.

The conference lasted for several days. The committee pressed him with every argument, which the nature of the subject could possibly suggest; and Cromwell replied in such a perplexed and unintelligible manner, as plainly showed, that he did not desire to be understood.

He was certainly desirous of obtaining the crown; and, in a probability, the motion was made with his own knowledge and concurrence; but he was extremely disconcerted by the violent opposition of Lambert and the other officers.

He dreaded the army, which he himself had inspired with principles diametrically opposite to monarchy, and even inflamed with the most desperate enthusiasm against the kingly name; nor could he so much as bring over to his party his own brother-in-law Desbrouough, nor Fleetwood, who had married his daughter. They told him, that, if he accepted the crown, they would instantly resign their commissions, and would no longer have it in their power to serve him.

A petition against the office of king, subscribed by colonel Pride and a great number
of

of officers, was presented to the parliament. Several persons, it was affirmed, had engaged in an association to murder the protector immediately after his advancement to the royal dignity ; and this intelligence he was the more apt to credit on account of a pretended prophecy, importing, that he should be very near ascending the throne, but should never fully possess it. He dreaded a mutiny among the soldiers, and indeed a general insurrection through the whole kingdom ; and at last, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, he found it necessary to refuse that crown, which had been tendered to him in the most solemn manner.

In order to reward this instance of moderation, the parliament confirmed his dignity of protector, and ascertained his authority by a solemn deed, entitled, the humble petition and advice. This was considered as the great foundation of the republican establishment, regulating and fixing the power of each member of the constitution, and securing the liberty of the people to the latest ages.

By this deed, the authority of the protector was, in some things, augmented : in others, it was considerably diminished.

He was empowered to name his successor : he had a perpetual revenue settled upon

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upon him, a million a year for the fleet and army, and three hundred thousand pounds for the civil government, besides what sums should be occasionally raised by the parliament: and he was allowed to appoint another house, the members of which should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former house of peers.

But he relinquished the authority, which he had formerly claimed, of enacting laws with the consent of the council; and he engaged, that no member of either house should be excluded without the consent of that house, to which they belonged. In other respects the humble petition was the same with the instrument of government.

Cromwell having obtained this sanction of his authority, resolved to consecrate his title by a new inauguration; and he appointed the twenty-sixth day of June for that purpose, when the ceremony was performed in Westminster-Hall with great pomp and magnificence,

The parliament having adjourned itself, the protector stripped Lambert of all his commissions; but still gratified him with a pension of two thousand pounds, as a bribe for his quiet and peaceable behaviour.

Great as was Lambert's authority in the army, he was no sooner deprived of his com-

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RICH Earl of **WARWICK**.



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commissions, than it was instantly found to expire. Packer, and some other officers, who had incurred the suspicion of Cromwell, were likewise dismissed.

Richard, eldest son to the protector, was now produced at court, and considered by many as his heir in the protectorship ; though Cromwell sometimes found it for his interest to flatter others with the hopes of that dignity.

Richard was a person of a most amiable disposition ; and had hitherto lived in the country on a small estate, which he possessed in right of his wife. His whole time was employed in acts of charity and beneficence. At the time of the late king's trial, he had fallen on his knees before his father, and besought him in the most earnest and pathetic manner to spare the life of that monarch.

Cromwell had two daughters unmarried : one of them he now bestowed upon the grandson of his great friend, the earl of Warwic, with whom he had always maintained an intimate correspondence : the other he gave to lord viscount Falconbridge, of a very ancient family, formerly attached to the royal party.

The parliament met on the twentieth day of January ; composed, as in the times of mon-

monarchy, of two houses ; the commons and the other house. Cromwell, during the vacation, had sent writs to his house of peers, which consisted of sixty members.

Among these were five or six ancient peers, several gentlemen of fortune and distinction, and some officers who, from the lowest professions, had raised themselves to considerable commands in the army. None of the ancient peers, however, would deign to sit with such companions as were allotted them.

Cromwell endeavoured, at least, to preserve the appearance of a legal representative. He removed the guards from the door of both houses : but soon found the bad effects of that experiment. By introducing so great a number of his friends and adherents into the other house, he had considerably weakened his interest among the commons.

By virtue of a clause in the humble petition and advice, they now re-admitted those members, who had been excluded by the council. Sir Arthur Hazelrig, and some others, whom Cromwell had advanced to the peerage, rather chose to take their seats with the commons.

An undisputed majority now appeared against the protector ; and they refused to

acknowledge the authority of that other house, which had been summoned. Even the legality of the humble petition and advice was questioned ; as being enacted by a parliament, which was deprived of its liberty, and from which so many members had by military force been excluded.

Cromwell, apprehensive of some secret combination between the parliament and the malecontents in the army, was determined to allow them no leisure for carrying their schemes into execution ; and he therefore resolved immediately to dissolve the parliament.

When importuned by Fleetwood and others of his friends not to attempt such a rash and desperate measure, he swore by the living God, that they should not sit a moment longer. He instantly sent for them to the painted chamber ; where, after reproaching them with their factious spirit, and their dangerous designs ; " since such" said he, " is your purpose, and such are " your proceedings, I think it high time to " put an end to your sitting : I therefore " declare this parliament dissolved : and " God be judge between me and you." " Amen." replied the members with no less vehemence than the protector.

But all these domestic troubles had no influence on the public conduct of Cromwell, who still continued to prosecute his measures with as much spirit and vigour, as if he had possessed the duty and allegiance of the three kingdoms.

His alliance with Sweden he still maintained; and he endeavoured to forward the ambitious projects of that people, who aspired to the total conquest of all the neighbouring states, and the entire command of the Baltic.

Immediately after the commencement of the Spanish war, he entered into a strict friendship and alliance with France, and in all his measures acted in perfect concert with that powerful and enterprizing kingdom. Spain, disgusted with the haughty and imperious behaviour of Cromwell, was at last obliged to solicit the assistance of the unfortunate king.

Charles engaged in a league with Philip, retired with his small court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raised four regiments of his own subjects, whom he employed in the Spanish service. The duke of York, who had served some campaigns in the French army, and who had procured the particular esteem of Marischal Turenne, now repaired to his brother, and continued to learn the mili-

military art under Don John of Austria and the prince of Condé, who, having been banished his own country, had offered his service to the Spanish monarch.

In consequence of his alliance with France, Cromwell had sent over into Flanders a body of six thousand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army, commanded by Turenne. In the course of the same campaign, Mardyke was reduced, and delivered to the English.

In the begining of this year Dunkirk was invested; and when the Spanish army advanced to its relief, the combined armies of France and England quitted their trenches, and fought the famous battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were entirely routed with the loss of twelve hundred slain and about two thousand prisoners. This victory was chiefly ascribed to the undaunted bravery of the English forces.

Dunkirk, being deprived of all hopes of assistance, was obliged to surrender, and was put into the hands of Cromwell. He intrusted the government of it to Lockart, a Scotchman of ability, who had married his niece, and was his ambassador at the court of France.

The protector considered this acquisition only as the means of obtaining farther ad-

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vantages. He was concerting measures with the French ministry for the total reduction and division of the Low Countries; and he had even entertained the ambitious hopes of procuring for himself the Imperial dignity; but these projects, the first so fatal to the general liberties of Europe, and the second so prejudicial to the interests of England; he did not live to accomplish.

Meanwhile the French monarch endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of the protector by every mark of esteem and regard. Lord Falconbridge, Cromwell's son-in-law, was sent over to Lewis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the same respect, which is usually shown by the French court to foreign princes.

Mazarine dispatched to London his nephew Mancini, along with the duke of Crequi; and expressed his sorrow, that, on account of the multiplicity of public affairs, he could not enjoy the pleasure which he had so long desired, of paying his compliments, in person, to the greatest man in the world. It appears, however, from good authority, that these were not the real sentiments of the cardinal, who used to say of Cromwell, that he was no better than a fortunate madman.

But

But all the compliments, which he received from foreign princes, and all the success, which attended his arms, could not remove those carking cares, which now preyed on the mind of the protector.

The great sums, expended both in military enterprizes and secret intelligence, had drained his exchequer; and involved him in a considerable debt. The royalists, he knew, were ripe for a general insurrection; and Ormond was lately come over to England, in order to concert the measures for carrying that scheme into execution.

Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many other leaders among the Presbyterians, had secretly engaged in the same conspiracy. Even the soldiers were seized with the general spirit of discontent, and some sudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be apprehended.

After the abrupt dissolution of the last parliament, he could never expect to establish, with the general consent of the people, a legal settlement of the nation, or to temper the military power with any mixture of civil authority. All his arts and policy had now lost their effect; and having so frequently, by fraud and artifice, deceived every party, and almost every person, he could no longer hope, by renewing

newing the like professions, to meet with equal trust and confidence.

Notwithstanding the zeal of the royalists, their conspiracy was easily defeated: Willis revealed the whole to the protector: Ormond was forced to quit the kingdom, and he thought himself happy in being able to save his life by a precipitate flight. Great numbers were secured and imprisoned.

An high court of justice was anew erected in order to try those criminals, who were most deeply concerned in the plot. Though the protector's authority had been solemnly ratified by the last parliament, he could not, as yet, depend on the impartial decision of juries.

Sir Henry Slingsby, and Doctor Hewet, were condemned and executed. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough, had nearly met with the same fate. The numbers for his acquittal and his condemnation were equal; and the sentence had hardly been pronounced in his favour, when colonel Pride, his declared enemy, and one of the judges, came into the court. Ashton, Storey, and Bestley where hanged in different parts of the city.

The conspiracy of the Millenarians in the army, as it was more carefully concealed and more artfully concerted, filled the pro-
tector

sector with greater and more terrible apprehensions.

Harrison, and the other discarded officers of that party, were highly incensed at the treatment they had received. Prompted by revenge, by ambition, and by conscience, they were still revolving in their mind some desperate project; and their wanted not officers in the army, who, from like motives, were sufficiently inclined to support them in all their undertakings.

The levellers and agitators had been encouraged by Cromwell to interpose with their counsel in all political debates; and many of them he had even affected to admit into his most intimate freindship, while he prosecuted his daring designs against the king and the parliament.

In order to engage the affections of the agitators, who were, most of them, corporals and serjeants, he was frequently wont to take them to bed with him, and there, after prayers and exhortations, to discourse of their projects and principles, political as well as religious. Having afterwards usurped the supreme authority, he no longer indulged them in the same familiarities, but entirely excluded them from his company and councils.

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Among those who were incensed at this behaviour was one Sexby, an active agitator, who now endeavoured to ruin his interest with as much industry, as he had formerly promoted it. He even went so far as to engage in a negotiation with Spain ; and Cromwell, who knew the discontents of the army, was justly apprehensive of some mutiny, which all his care and vigilance might be unable to prevent.

He was likewise afraid of attempts upon his life, from the fanatical spirit, which possessed the soldiers. Sindercombe, a disbanded trooper had undertaken to kill him ; and by the most unaccountable accidents had hitherto been prevented from carrying his design into execution.

The plot was discovered ; but Cromwell could never find the bottom of the enterprize, nor detect the other persons who were concerned in the conspiracy. Sindercombe was tried by a jury ; and notwithstanding the atrocious nature of his crime, as well as the clear proof of his guilt, so strong were the prepossessions of the people against the protector's right to the supreme authority, that it was not without the utmost difficulty, that this conspirator was condemned.

When every thing was ready for his execution, he was found dead in his prison,

Some

Some imagined that he had poisoned himself; while others suspected that he had been taken off by the secret orders of the protector, who was afraid to bring him to a public death.

But it was not from the designs of his enemies that Cromwell's uneasiness chiefly proceeded: his greatest misery arose from the alienation of his friends and nearest relations.

Fleetwood, his son-in-law transported by the wildest zeal, began to cabal against him, and was enraged to find that Cromwell, instead of encouraging piety and religion, as he had always professed, directed his whole attention towards promoting his own grandeur.

His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, was so violent a republican, that she could not endure to see power lodged in a single person, not even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no less dissatisfied with his conduct, and lamented the violence and iniquities into which their family, they believed, had so unhappily been hurried.

But what affected his mind with the deepest concern, and imbibited all his enjoyments, was the sickness of Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, a lady possessed of every amiable virtue.

She

She had earnestly solicited the pardon of Dr. Hewet, for whom she had conceived a particular esteem; and not being able to obtain her request, she had been prompted, by the melancholy of her temper, to bewail to her father all his sanguinary measures, and to awaken him to a sense of those numerous crimes, into which the love of power had fatally betrayed him. Her death, which happened soon after, gave an additional weight to every word, which she spoke.

All peace of mind was now for ever banished from the protector. He found that the grandeur, which, with so much guilt and bravery he had acquired, could not procure him that tranquillity, which nothing but virtue can bestow, and which none, but the virtuous can enjoy.

Oppressed with the burthen of public affairs, apprehending perpetually some fatal accident in his precarious government, surrounded on all hands by treacherous friends or enraged enemies, secure of the attachment of no party, founding his title on no principle, civil or religious, his power he saw to depend on such a delicate poize of different factions, as the least accident was able, without any preparation, totally to overturn.

Death

Death too, which, with such remarkable courage, he had often encountered in the field, being continually threatened by the hands of fanatical or interested assassins, was ever present to his frightened imagination, and terrified him in every scene of busnels and repose.

Each action of his life discovered the terrors which distracted his mind. The sight of strangers was disagreeable to him : with a jealous and suspicious eye he surveyed every face, to which he was not daily accustomed. He never quitted his palace without being attended by a strong guard : he wore defensive armour under his cloath\$, and farther provided himself with offensive weapons, a sword, a falchion, and a loaded pistol, which he always carried about him.

He performed every journey with hurry and precipitation. He returned from no place by the straight road, or by the same way which he had gone. He never slept above three nights successively in the same chamber : he changed his apartment without communicating his purpose to any one; and at the back-door of the room, in which he lay, he always posted guards, on whose fidelity he could depend.

At length the anxiety of his restless mind began to prey upon the health of his body ; and

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and a sensible alteration was perceived in his countenance. He was seized with a slow fever, which soon ended in a tertian ague. For the space of a week, the disease was so moderate, that, in the intervals of the fits, he was able to walk abroad.

In a short time, the distemper became more violent, and he himself began to entertain some thoughts of his approaching dissolution. He asked Goodwin, one of his chaplains, if the doctrine was true, that the elect could never fall or suffer a final reprobation. The chaplain replying in the affirmative; "Then I am safe," said the protector: "for I am sure that I was once in a state of grace."

His physicians were sensible of his perilous situation, and began to drop him some hints on the subject: but his chaplains, by their prayers, visions, and revelations, so intoxicated his brain, that he firmly believed himself to be out of all danger. A favourable answer, it was affirmed, had been returned by heaven to the supplications of all the godly; and he was much more inclined to credit their assertions than the opinion of the most skilful physicians.

One of the latter entering his chamber with a grave countenance, the protector asked him why he looked so sad? and the phy-

physician replying, that it so became one, who had the weighty care of his life and health upon him: "Ye physicians," said he, "think I shall die; but ye are mis-taken: I shall not die of this distemper: "I am well assured of my recovery." Observing the physician look still more grave, he proceeded thus: "Don't think that I am mad: I speak the words of truth upon surer grounds than either your Galen, or your Hippocrates. God Almighty himself hath given that answer, not only to my prayers, but also to the prayers of men, who hold a stricter commerce, and more intimate correspondence with him. Ye may have skill as physicians; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world, and God is far above nature."

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* Some writers alledge, that, in this affair, Cromwell only acted the hypocrite; and that he disclosed his real sentiments to the doctor in private. He is said to have spoke to the following effect: "You are an honest man, doctor, and have good sense: I wonder you don't see, that I hazard nothing by my prediction. For, if, as you say, I should not survive twenty-four hours, this rumour of my recovery, which will be diffused through the whole nation, will keep the minds of men in suspense, and prevent my enemies from coming to any

cer-

The physician leaving the chamber, accidentally met with one of the domestics, with whom he had long been intimately acquainted and to whom he said that he was afraid his patient would turn light-headed :
“ Then” replied the domestic, “ you are certainly a stranger in this house. Don’t you know what was done last night ? The chaplains, and all who are dear to God, being dispersed into different parts of the palace, have prayed to God for his health, and all have received this answer, That ‘ he shall recover’ .

Nay, to such a degree of phrenzy did their presumptuous assurances mount, that, upon a fast day, which, on his account, was observed, both at Hampton Court and at Whitehall, they did not so much pray for his health, as return thanks for the undoubted pledges which had been given of his recovery.

It soon appeared, however, that the confidence of the saints was very ill founded. All the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect ; and the physicians declared, that he could not withstand the next fit, with which he was threatened.

The

certain resolutions. On the other hand, if I should recover, as you physicians are not infallible, it will add new credit to my government, and the bulk of the people will actually believe me to be a prophet.”

The council were no sooner informed of this circumstance, than they immediately sent a deputation to know his will; with regard to his successor. He was now become insensible, and was altogether incapable of expressing his intentions. They asked him, if he did not mean that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the government. A simple affirmative was all he was able to utter.

Soon after, on the third of September, that very day, which he always regarded as so auspicious, and on which he had gained his two signal victories of Dunbar, and Worcester, he expired. His death was followed by a most violent tempest, as if nature intended, by this circumstance, to celebrate the obsequies of so extraordinary a personage.

Cromwell was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a robust make and constitution, and of a manly, though disagreeable aspect. He lost his father in his infancy. His mother lived till he was protector; and contrary to her orders, he interred her with great pomp, in Westminster Abbey.

She always imagined, that his power and his person were exposed to continual danger: at every noise, which she heard, she exclaimed,

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that her son was murdered ; and could never be persuaded, that he was alive, unless she saw him almost every day. She was a decent and virtuous woman ; and by her frugality and industry had maintained and educated a numerous family upon a very small fortune.

Her circumstances were at one time so low, that she was obliged to set up a brewery at Huntington, which she managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwell, in the satyres of those times, is frequently characterized by the name of the brewer. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart, and said to be related to the royal family.

The character of Cromwell has been drawn differently by different historians, according to their various principles and prejudices. We have already observed that cardinal Mazarine was wont to call him a fortunate madman : father Orleans stiles him a judicious villain : lord Clarendon, a brave wicked man : Gregory Leti says, that he was a tyrant without vices, and a prince without virtues. But the most finished and perfect character of this extraordinary personage has been drawn by the poet, Cowley, who, though he has magnified some particulars, has yet represented the most striking circumstances.

" What,

" What, " says he, " can be more astonishing, than that a person, of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, nor distinguished talents of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to undertake, and the abilities to accomplish so extraordinary a design as the overturning one of the most ancient and best established monarchies in the world? that he should have the power and boldness to bring his prince and master to an open and ignominious death? should banish that numerous and strongly allied family; cover all these crimes under a seeming obedience to a parliament, whose servant he professed himself to be? annihilate too that parliament in their turn, and scornfully expel them so soon as they incurred his displeasure? erect in their room the dominion of the saints, and give reality to the most romantic idea, that ever entered into the head of the wildest fanatic? destroy again that monster in its infancy, and openly exalt himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England? overcome all his enemies by force, and over-reach all his friends by fraud? serve all parties

" tis patiently for a while, and command
" them victoriously at last ? over-run each
" corner of the three kingdoms; and sub-
" due, with equal ease, both the riches of
" the south, and the poverty of the north ?
" be courted and caressed by all foreign
" princes, and he stiled a brother to the
" Gods of the earth ? summon together
" parliaments with a stroke of his pen, and
" scatter them again with the breath of his
" mouth ? enslave a warlike and discontent-
" ed nation by means of a mutinous army ;
" restrain and keep in order a mutinous ar-
" my by means of factious and seditious of-
" ficers ? be humbly and daily requested,
" that he would be pleased, at the rate of
" millions a year, to be hired as the master
" of those, who, a little before, had hired
" him to be their servant ? have the lives
" and fortunes of three nations as much at
" his disposal as was once the little inherit-
" ance of his father, and be as noble and li-
" beral in the spending of them ? and lastly
" (for their is no end of his praise) with
" one word bequeath all their power and
" and splendour to his posterity ? die
" possessed of peace at home, and crowned
" with victory abroad ? be interred among
" kings, and that with more than regal
" pomp and solemnity ? and leave a name
" be-

" behind him not to be extinguished but
" with the whole world; which, as it was
" too narrow for his fame, so might it have
" been for his conquests, could the short span
" of his mortal life have been extended out
" to the compass of his immortal designs."

This picture, however beautiful, is evidently over-charged, and favours more of the heated imagination of a flattering poet than of the correct judgment of an impartial historian.

Had Cromwell, indeed, before he appeared in a public station, been able to concert the plan of all his future enterprizes, and afterwards carry them, as he did, into full execution, he had certainly merited all the praises, which are here bestowed upon his memory: but it is more agreeable to the limited capacity of the human mind, and the uncertain nature of human events, to suppose, that, without pursuing any regular scheme, or extending his views to distant consequences, he proceeded, gradually, from one step to another till at last he attained the supreme authority.

What distinguished him above all his contemporaries, and contributed most to his marvellous success, was the uncommon sagacity, with which he discerned the favourable incidents, as they happened, and the dexter-

dexterity and address with which he converted them to his own advantage; and in the prosecution of these measures no danger could appal his courage, no difficulties could abate his ardour.

The domestic administration of Cromwell, though frequently rigid and severe, was neither cruel nor tyrannical; and when any punishment, less than capital could keep his enemies quiet, they seldom or never were brought to the scaffold. His foreign politics, though bold and enterprizing, were prejudicial to the interest of the nation, and seem more to have been owing to headstrong passion or bigotted prejudices, than to cool judgment and deliberation.

If we examine the moral character of Cromwell, with that indulgence which is due to the infirmities of human nature, we shall not be disposed to reproach him with those atrocious crimes which his enemies have laid to his charge.

Considering the principles and prejudices of the times, it will not be thought strange, that he should embrace the parliamentary, rather than the royal party; since even, at present, most men of sense and moderation are of opinion, that, in the civil wars which then prevailed in the kingdom, it is extreme-

tremely difficult to determine on which side the justice of the quarrel lay.

That part of his conduct which can never be justified, and which even his warmest advocates and admirers will never undertake to defend, is the share which he had in the murder of his sovereign: but even this, the most criminal of all his actions, was to him covered under a thick veil of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is not impossible, that he might think it, as many others did, to be the most meritorious action which he could perform.

His usurpation of the government was as much owing to necessity as ambition: nor is it easy to conceive how the troubles of the nation could at that time be composed, without the exercise of military and arbitrary authority.

The private deportment of Cromwell is altogether unexceptionable, or rather worthy of the highest praise. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate brother, a kind husband, an indulgent father, and even, in some instances, a sincere and faithful friend: and, upon the whole, his character is not more distinguished by his discovering such a strange conjunction of absurdity and good sense, than by his tempering such insatiable ambition, and such furious fanaticism

bv

by so much regard to justice and humanity.*

Cromwell had no sooner expired, than the council assembled; and agreeable to his last will, elected his eldest son Richard, as his successor! Far from meeting with any opposition, the whole nation seemed to acknowledge his authority. Fleetwood, in whose favour Cromwell was supposed to have made a will, relinquished all claim or pretension to the protectorship. Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with great ability, secured him the obedience of that kingdom. Monk, who was absolute master of Scotland, being much attached to his family, immediately proclaimed the new protector, 'The
balance of time is given to army,
which has fallen in dispute, &c.'

* It is said that Cromwell, even while a boy, had some strong forebodings of his future greatness. One morning, as he was lying upon his bed in a melancholy mood, he thought he saw an apparition, which told him, that he should be the greatest man in England. Upon his acquainting his father with this story, the old gentleman was extremely angry, and ordered his master to correct him for his presumption. This chastisement, however, had no effect upon the ambitious youth, who was still convinced of the truth of the prediction, and frequently ventured to mention it; though his uncle, Mr. Stuart, told him, that it was treason to repeat it.

A play too, in which he acted a part, at the free-school of Huntington, is first said to have inspired him with

army, every where, the fleet recognized his title. Above ninety addresses from the coun-

with the desire of obtaining the crown. The play is called Lingua, or the combat of the tongue and the five senses for the right of superiority. The subject is, that Lingua presents a crown and a robe for which the senses are to contend. The two following scenes will shew the foundation of the report which relates to Cromwell, who acted the part of Tactus, or the sense of touching.

ACT I. SCENE V.

MENDACIO. TACTUS.

Mend. Now chaste Diana, grant my nets to hold,

Tact. The rising childhood of the cheerful morn

Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs

Yonder gilt eastern hills, about which time

Gustus most earnestly importuned me

To meet him herabouts : what cause I know not.

Mend. You shall know shortly, to your cost, I hope.

Tact. Sure, by the sun, it should be nine o'clock !

Mend. What a star-gazer ! will you ne'er look down ?

Tact. Clear is the sun, and blue the firmament :

Methinks the Heavens do smile. Mend. At thy

-mishap,

To look so high, and stumble in a trap.

[Tactus stumbles at the robe and the crown.]

Tact. High thoughts have slippery feet, I had well
nigh fallen.

Mend. Well doth he fall, that riseth with a fall.

Tact. What's this ?

Mend. O ! you are taken ! 'tis in vain to strive.

Tact. How now !

Mend. You'll be so entangled straight.

Tact.

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counties and most substantial corporations,
in all the terms of duty and submission, felicit-

Tact. A crown !

Mend. That it will be found.

Tact. And a robe !

Mend. To lose yourself.

Tact. A crown and robe ?

Mend. It had been better for you to have found a fool's coat, and a bauble, hey, hey !

Tact. Jupiter ! Jupiter ! how comes this here ?

Mend. O ! Sir ! Jupiter is making thunder ; he hears you not : here's one that knows better.

Tact. 'Tis wond'rous rich ; ha ! but sure it is not so ; ho !

Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha ?

No, I am awake and feel it now.

Whose should it be ? [He takes it up.]

Mend. Set up a *si quis* for it.

Tact. Mercury ! all's mine own : here's none to cry half's mine.

Mend. When I am gone.

S C E N E VI. A Soliloquy.

Tact. Tactus ! thy sneezing somewhat did portend, Was ever man so fortunate as I ? To break his shins on such a stumbling-block. Roses and bays pack hence : this crown and robe My brows and body circles and invests. How gallantly it fits me ! sure the slave Measured my head that wrought this coronet. They lye that say complexions cannot change : My blood's ennobled, and I am transformed Into the sacred temper of a KING. Methinks I hear my noble parasites

Still-

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licitated him on his succession. Foreign ministers vied with each other in paying him

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I

the

Stiling me Cæsar, or great Alexander,
Licking my feet, and wond'ring where I got
This precious ointment ; how my pace is mended !
How princely do I speak ! how sharp I threaten !
Peasants I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
And make you tremble when the lion roars :
Ye earth-bred worms : O for a looking-glaſs !
Poets will write whole volumes of this change.
Where's my attendants : come hither, ſirrah,
quickly,
Or by the wings of Hermies —

How little scrupulous Cromwell was about the means of acquiring the supreme authority ; and how much he disregarded the sense of the nation, appears from the information of Mr. Henry Nevil, a celebrated politician of that age, and one of the members of the council of state. He says, that, when the question with regard to the settlement of the kingdom was in agitation, Cromwell sent for some of the principal divines, as if he made it a matter of conscience to be determined by their opinion. Among these was the famous Mr. Calamy, who boldly opposed the project of Cromwell's single government, and offered to prove it to be both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell told him, that it could not be unlawful, as the safety of the nation, which was the supreme law, required such an expedient. "But," "pray," says he, "Mr. Calamy, why impracticable?" "Because" replied Calamy, "it is contrary to the sense of the nation ; there will be nine in ten a-against you." "Very well," said Cromwell, "but what

the usual compliments. And Richard,
whose quiet and peaceable disposition would
never

" what if I should disarm the nine, and put a sword
" into the tenth man's hand, would not that do the
" busines?"

Never did king of England assume greater state and dignity than was maintained by Cromwell. He refused the title of cousin from the French king, expecting to receive that of brother; and he played off the Spaniard so artfully against him, that the ambassadors of both nations courted his favour with the utmost submission. This gave occasion to the Dutch, who have an excellent turn for low humour, to strike a medal, representing Cromwell and his titles on one side, with Britannia on the other, and Cromwell thrusting his head into her bosom, with his breeches down and his back-side bare, the Spanish ambassador stooping to kiss it, while the French ambassador holds him by the arm with these words inscribed, *Retire toi; cet honneur appartient au roi mon maître*: come back; that honour belongs to the king my master.

As a specimen of the protector's dexterity in overreaching those who were most conversant in the same arts, and of the exact and faithful intelligence, which, by means of his spies, he received from all quarters, it may not be improper to mention the following story, which is related by an historian who wrote soon after.

" One of his domestic chaplains, Mr. Jeremy White, a man of great wit and vivacity, was so ambitious as to make his addresses to the lady Frances, the protector's youngest daughter. The young lady did not discourage his suit; and this piece of innocent gallantry, in so regular and religious a court, could not long be kept secret. Cromwell was informed of it by one of his spies; and he

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never have led him to aspire to empire, was tempted to accept so rich a succession,
I 2 which

he desired the informer to be upon the watch, assuring him, at the same time, that, if he could give him any substantial proof, he should be handsomely rewarded, and White punished with the utmost severity.

" The spy executed his commission with so much industry, that he hunted Jerry White, as he was usually called, to the lady's chamber, and ran immediately to acquaint the protector. Cromwell, in a rage, hastened thither himself, and entering the chamber found Jerry on his knees, kissing the lady's hand, or having just kissed it. The protector asked him, with a stern countenance, what was the meaning of that posture before his daughter Frank? White, with great presence of mind, replied, May it please your highness, I have a long time been courting that gentlewoman there, my lady's woman, and cannot prevail: I was therefore humbly soliciting my lady to intercede in my favour."

" Oliver, turning to the young woman, cried, what's the meaning of this, hussy? why do you refuse the honour which Mr. White would do you? he is my friend; and I expect that you should treat him as such. My lady's woman, who wished for nothing more, with a low curtesy, replied, if Mr. White intends me that honour, I have no objection. Say'st thou so my lass, cried Cromwell? call Goodwin. This business shall be done presently before I leave the room.

" Mr. White had gone too far to retreat: the parson came; Jerry and my lady's woman were married in the presence of the protector, who gave the bride five hundred pounds for her portion; and that, with the money which she had saved before, made Mr. White

which seemed to be offered him by the general consent of the whole people.

It was judged expedient to summon a parliament, in order to procure supplies, both for the exigencies of the civil government, and for performing those engagements, with foreign states,* particularly Sweden, which had been contracted by the last protector.

The better, if possible, to influence the elections, the small boroughs were restored to their right of returning members; and the counties were permitted to send no more than their usual number. The house of peers, or the other house, was composed of the same persons, who had been named by Oliver.

The commons, at first, made no difficulty in signing an engagement to adhere to the present government. They next took under consideration the humble petition and advice; and after a long and warm debate, it was,

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White easy in every thing, but one, which was, that he could never love his wife, nor she him, though they lived together near fifty years afterwards. This story, says the author, I know to be true; as I was intimately acquainted with both the parties, and have heard it told in the presence of Mrs. White, who did not pretend to deny it."

at last, carried by the court party, that it should be confirmed.

They were also obliged to acknowledge the authority of the other house; though they still determined to treat this house of peers upon the footing of a perfect equality.

They likewise desired, that the erection of the other house should no way prejudice the right of those ancient peers, who, from the commencement of the war, had espoused the cause of the parliament; and, in a word, in all their transactions, the country party opposed the measures of the court with so much violence, that the debates were protracted to an immoderate length, the business of supplies was greatly retarded, and the friends of the new protector were filled with the most terrible apprehensions.

But there was another quarter, from which a more dangerous opposition was justly to be dreaded. The whole republican party in the army, Fitz, Mason, Mols, Farley, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the protector, began to form cabals against him.

The officers too of that party, whom Cromwell had cashiered, Overton, Ludlow, Rich, Okey, Alured, now abandoned their late retreats, and endeavoured to retrieve that influence and authority, of which they had

formerly been deprived. Several likewise, who thought themselves neglected by Richard, Sydenham, Kelsey, Berry, Haines, engaged at once in the cabal of the others. Lambert, whose authority was great in the army, and even Desborow, the protector's uncle, were tempted to countenance the same faction. All the disaffected officers usually met at Fleetwood's lodgings; and because he dwelt in Wallingford-house, the party were called the Wallingford-cabal.

Richard, who had neither penetration to discover their designs, nor courage to defeat their projects, was unwarily induced to consent to the assembling a general council of officers, who might give him their advice, as they pretended, with regard to the management of the army.

No sooner had they met than they drew up a remonstrance. They there complained, that the good old cause, as they called it, was entirely neglected; and they proposed as a remedy, that the whole military power, - the command of the armies, the disposal of the militia, should be committed to some person, on whom they could rely. The trained bands of the city were persuaded by two aldermen, Tichburn and Irerton, to express the same resolution of adhering to the good old cause.

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The proposals of the officers gave great alarm to the protector. The persons, in whom he chiefly trusted, were, all of them, except Broghill, men of civil characters and professions; Fiennes, Thurloe, White-locke, Wolseley; who could only assist him with their counsel and advice.

He was indued with none of those talents, which were necessary for gaining a fanatic army. Exceptions being taken against some promotions, which he had made, "what," said he, "would you have me prefer none but the godly? here is Dick In-goldsby who can neither preach nor pray; "yet I will trust him before ye all." The saints, as they called themselves, were greatly offended at this expression.

The other qualities of the protector were highly commendable: He was of a mild, generous, and benevolent disposition. Some of his party offering to defeat these intrigues by the murder of Lambert, if he would give his consent, he declared, that he would rather resign his authority, than be guilty of such a base and detestable action.

The parliament was no less alarmed at the designs of the army. They decreed that there should be no assembly or general council of officers with the protector's consent, or by his authority.

This

This measure immediately brought matters to a crisis. The officers repaired to Richard, and insisted on the instant dissolution of the parliament. Desborow, a man of a rough and clownish disposition, endeavoured to frighten him into compliance. The protector had neither spirit to deny, nor power to resist. The parliament was dissolved; and by the same act, the protector was considered by every one as effectually deposed. In a few days after, he signed his resignation in form.

Henry, the deputy of Ireland, was remarkable for the same humane and generous disposition as Richard; but as he possessed greater courage and capacity, it was generally thought, that he would make some resistance. He had governed Ireland with great popularity; and was extremely beloved both by the army and natives.

Had he been of an ambitious character, he might certainly have raised considerable disturbances: but being threatened by Sir Hardress Waller, colonel John Jones, and other officers, he very peaceably yielded to the times, and returned to England. He had once resolved to proclaim the king in Dublin, but had not the courage to execute his resolution.

Thus

Thus fell suddenly from the pinnacle of fortune, but, by a rare felicity, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwells. Richard continued to enjoy an estate, which was very small, and loaded too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the funeral of his father.

After the restoration, though he escaped with impunity, he chose to retire to the Continent, till the spirit of party and faction should in some measure be abated. Some time after he returned to England, where he lived to great old age, not dying till towards the latter end of queen Anne's reign.

The council of officers having thus usurped the supreme authority, began to consider what form of government they should next establish. Many of them were disposed to erect a military government, and to exercise the power of the sword in the most open manner; but as it would be difficult to compel the people to the payment of taxes, imposed by arbitrary will and pleasure; it was resolved to retain the appearance of civil authority, and to restore the long parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwell.

They could not be dissolved, it was affirmed, without their own consent; and violence had interrupted, but could not annihilate, their right to government. The officers

ficers likewise hoped, that as those members were conscious of their own weakness and insignificance, they would be willing to act in subordination to the military commanders, and would thenceforth suffer all the authority to remain in those hands in which the power was so visibly lodged.

In prosecution of this scheme, the officers repaired to the house of Lenthal, who had been speaker in the long parliament, and presented him with a declaration of the military council, by which he and the other members were invited to re-assemble.

Lenthal was a man of a low and timid spirit; and at first made several objections to the proposal. But finding that a quorum was likely to meet on the day appointed, he thought proper to join them; and they immediately proceeded to business. The excluded members, made a fruitless attempt to resume their seats among them.

The numbers of this parliament were very inconsiderable amounting only to forty-two members. Their authority in the nation, ever since they had been garbled by the army, was greatly weakened; and after their expulsion, had been wholly extinguished. But being all of them men of immoderate ambition; and some of them men of uncommon abilities; they were determined

mined, since they possessed the title of the national representative, and found that some shadow of a parliament was necessary for the purposes of the army, not to act a subordinate part, nor to own subjection to those who professed themselves to be their servants.

They appointed a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford house should not be the majority : they constituted Fleetwood lieutenant general of the army ; but his commission was only to last during the pleasure of the house : they chose seven persons, who should dispose of such commands as fell vacant : and they decreed, that all commissions should be granted by the speaker, and be signed by him in the name of the parliament.

The general officers were highly offended at these measures, which implied such a strong suspicion of their designs ; and this discontent would have broke out into some action, fatal to the authority of the parliament, had it not been restrained by the fear of danger from the common enemy.

The bulk of the nation was composed of royalists and Presbyterians ; and both these parties had ever concurred in their hatred of the pretended parliament. When this parliament was expelled by Cromwell,

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contempt had succeeded to aversion; and every freedom had been used in ridiculing the impotent, but restless ambition of these petty tyrants. Seeing them restored to authority, all men were inflamed with the highest indignation; together with apprehensions, lest such merciless rulers should take vengeance on their enemies for the insults and indignities which they had so frequently suffered.

A secret agreement was, therefore, effected between the rival parties; and it was resolved, that, forgetting their former feuds and animosities, they should exert their utmost endeavours for the overthrow of the rump: for so they termed the parliament, in allusion to that part of the animal body, the most inconsiderable and ignoble.

I The Presbyterians, sensible from experience, that their love of liberty, however commendable, had hurried them into unjustifiable measures, were willing to atone for their past misdemeanors by contributing their assistance to the restoration of the royal family.

¶ The nobility and gentry were eager to accomplish the same enterprize, by which alone they could hope to be delivered from slavery: and no man was so unconnected with party, so regardless of the public



lic welfare, as not to entertain the most ardent wishes for the abolition of that tyranny, which, whether considered in a civil or military sense, was equally odious and destructive to the nation.

Mordaunt, who had been concerned in the late conspiracy, and who had so narrowly escaped with his life, seemed rather encouraged than intimidated by his past danger ; and having, by his firm and steady behaviour, procured the confidence of the royal party, he was now become the chief director of all their councils.

In many counties a scheme was laid for an immediate insurrection. Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townshend, promised to surprise Lynne; general Massey undertook to secure Gloucester; lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen, engaged to take possession of Shrewsbury; Sir George Booth, of Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton, of North Wales; Arundel, Pollard, Granville, Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter.

A day was fixed for the execution of all these projects. The king, with the duke of York, had secretly repaired to Calais, with a design of putting themselves at the head of his loyal subjects : and the French had promised to furnish him with a small body of

VOL. XXV. K troops,

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troops, in order to second the insurrections of the English.

This conspiracy was defeated by the secret intelligence of Sir Richard Willis, who now maintained with the parliament the same correspondence which he had formerly carried on with Cromwell.

Many of the conspirators in different counties were seized and imprisoned : others, alarmed at the discovery of the plot, abandoned their houses or remained quiet : a violent tempest raged during the whole time appointed for the insurrection ; insomuch that some were unable, however willing, to join their friends, and others were filled with fear and superstition, at an incident so uncommon in the summer season.

Of all the projects, the only one which was carried into execution, was that of Sir George Booth for the surprizal of Chester. Booth was joined by the earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee, colonel Morgan and others.

He was farther reinforced by Sir William Middleton with some troops from North Wales ; and the insurgents were strong enough to reduce all in the neighbourhood, and to subdue every one who dared to oppose them. In their manifesto they took no

notice of the king : they only insisted on a free and full parliament.

The ramp were filled with the most terrible apprehensions. They were no strangers to the discontented humour of the nation ; and the least incident, they knew, was sufficient to make it break out into action.

Booth was of a family distinguished for its Presbyterian principles; and his union with the royalists they considered as a most alarming symptom. They had many officers, of whose fidelity they were more assured than of that of Lambert; but there was no one whose courage and conduct were, in any degree, equal.

They therefore ordered him to quell the insurrection : and he instantly departed to execute his commission. Booth imprudently abandoned Chester, and opposed, in the field, his raw and undisciplined troops against these brave and determined veterans. He was soon defeated and taken prisoner. His whole party were entirely discomfited : and the parliament had no other business than to crowd the prisons with their declared or suspected enemies.

This success, however, far from establishing the authority, served only to precipitate the ruin of the parliament. Lambert, conscious of his own strength, and of the ex-

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treme weakness of the rump, was no less dangerous to them than Booth.

A thousand pounds, which they gave him in a present, he distributed entirely among his officers. By his advice they framed a petition, and sent it to Fleetwood, a man of weak intellects, and full of the most bigoted prejudices. The purport of it was, that Fleetwood should be appointed general of the forces, Lambert major-general, Desborow lieutenant general of the horse, Monk major-general of the horse. To this they subjoined a demand, that no officer should be cashiered but by sentence of a court-martial.

The parliament, incensed at this presumption, immediately dismissed from their commands Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelsey, Cobbet. Sir Arthur Hazelrig made a motion for impeaching Lambert of high treason. Fleetwood's commission was annulled, and the command of the forces entrusted to seven persons, of whom that general was one. The parliament decreed that no more general officers should be appointed: and they pronounced it high treason to impose taxes or levy money without consent of parliament.

The officers, however, were not to be intimidated by these feeble declarations,

Lam-

Lambert assembled a few troops, in order to determine the controversy. Okey, who was bringing his regiment to the assistance of the parliament, was abandoned by his men. Morley and Moss marched their regiments into Palace-yard, in order to defeat the designs of Lambert.

But that artful general found means to disappoint them. He posted his men in the streets which lead to Westminster-hall. When the speaker arrived in his coach, he caused the horses to be turned, and very politely conducted him home. The other members were prevented from meeting by the like stratagem; and the two regiments in Palace-yard, finding they were become the objects of ridicule, quietly departed to their quarters.

The officers had now, once more, usurped the supreme authority, of which they resolved for ever to keep the reality and substance, however on others they might confer the shadow and appearance. They named a committee of twenty-three, of whom seven were officers. These they affected to entrust with the sovereign power; and called them a committee of safety.

They every where gave out, that they intended to assemble a parliament, elected by the people; but they actually took some

steps towards convoking a military parliament, consisting of officers, from every regiment in service.

The whole nation was seized with fear and consternation: the nobility and gentry expected nothing but a general massacre and extirpation; and the people dispaired of being able to recover that liberty, for which they had formerly so strenuously contended, and of which they had been so unjustly deprived by their own servants.

During these distractions in England, the wars on the continent were drawing towards a period. The parliament, while it retained its authority, instead of pursuing the pernicious politics of Cromwell in promoting the schemes of the ambitious Swede, adopted the wise maxims of the Dutch republic, and determined, in conjunction with that state, to effect, by force of arms, an agreement between the northern crowns.

Montague sailed with a fleet to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambassador the celebrated republican, Algernon Sidney. Sidney found the Swedish monarch engaged in the siege of Copenhagen, the metropolis of his enemy; and was glad, that, with a Roman spirit, he could stop the progress of royal arms, and display, in so remarkable a

manner, the triumph of freedom above despotism.

With the highest indignation the ambitious prince was compelled to agree to the terms proposed by the two commonwealths. " 'Tis hard," said he, " that I should be obliged to receive laws from regicides and pedlars." But his whole army was cooped up in an island, and might be starved by the united fleets of England and Holland.

He was therefore forced to abandon his prey, when it was almost within his reach; and having concluded a peace with Denmark, returned to his own country, where he soon after died.

The quarrels between France and Spain were also composed by a final treaty. The ministers of the two crowns, Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro, met at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the isle of Pheasants, a place supposed to be entirely neuter, as neither kingdom pretended to the property. The terms being fully adjusted by the ministers, the monarchs themselves agreed to an interview; and these two brilliant courts met in all their splendour amidst those savage mountains.

Philip brought his daughter Maria Theresa, and bestowing her in marriage on his nephew, Lewis, endeavoured to strengthen by

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by this strict tye, the national alliance which was now concluded. The French king renounced, in the most solemn manner, every succession to which he might be intitled in consequence of the marriage; an idle formality, and too weak a barrier against the unbounded ambition of princes.

The affairs of England were in so great confusion, that it was absolutely impossible to include that kingdom in the treaty, or to concert any measures with a power, which was subject to such incessant changes.

The king, disheartened by the miscarriage of every enterprize in his favour, was determined to try the weak resource of foreign aid; and he repaired to the Pyrenees at the time when the two ministers were engaged in their conference. Don Lewis gave him a very kind and cordial reception; and expressed his inclination, had the low condition of Spain permitted him, to furnish assistance to the unfortunate monarch.

The politic Mazarine, pretending the alliance of France with the English commonwealth, would not so much as favour him with an interview; and though it is alledged, that the king engaged to espouse the cardinal's niece, he could, at present, procure nothing but empty professions of respect and friendship.

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The affairs of that monarch were now considered as irretrievably ruined. Every attempt, which had been made in his favour, had been rendered abortive. The scaffold had often flowed with the blood of the most zealous royalists. The spirits of many were broke by long confinements. The estates of all were exhausted with fines and exactions. None durst publickly declare themselves of that party: and so inconsiderable did their number, at first sight, appear, that, even if the nation should regain its liberty, which was by no means probable; it was thought uncertain what kind of government it would chuse to establish.

But while every thing wore such an unfavourable aspect, fortune, by a surprizing revolution, was now preparing the way for the king to ascend the throne of his ancestors. It was by the prudence and loyalty of one man that this happy change was at last effected.

George Monk, whose fate it was to restore the constitution of his country, and put a period to the bloody dissensions of three kingdoms, was the second son of an ancient and honourable family in Devonshire. Early in his youth, he entered into the army; and was employed in the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhe.

After

W M O M M C S T

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After the English had composed their quarrels with all their neighbours, he studied the military art in the Low Countries, the great school of war to all the European nations ; and he was promoted to the command of a company under lord Goring. This company was composed of two hundred men, one hundred of whom were volunteers, frequently gentlemen of family and fortune, sometimes noblemen, who lived at their own expence in a very elegant manner. Such was, at that time, the martial disposition of the English.

No sooner did the war break out in this island than Monk returned to England, partly ambitious of promotion in his native country, partly dissatisfied with some bad treatment, which he had received from the States.

After the pacification of Scotland, he was sent by the earl of Leicester against the Irish rebels ; and having procured the command of a regiment, was soon remarked for his military skill and for his calm and invincible courage.

By these qualities, as well as by his humane and generous disposition, he engaged the affections of all the soldiers ; and such was their opinion of his conduct and capacity, that there was no enterprize, however diffi-

difficult, which they would not cheerfully attempt under his direction.

He was extremely moderate in party; and while all around were boiling with the most inveterate rancour against the opposite faction, he incurred the suspicion of treachery from the candour and tranquillity of his behaviour.

When the Irish army was brought over into England, insinuations of this kind had become so frequent, that he was even suspended from his command, and ordered to repair to Oxford, to vindicate himself from the crimes which were laid to his charge.

His established character for truth and sincerity was here of great service; and upon his solemn protestations of innocence, he was re-established in the command of his regiment, which he joined at the siege of Nantwich.

On the day immediately succeeding his arrival, Fairfax attacked and routed the royalists, commanded by Biron; and Monk, with others, was taken prisoner. He was committed to the Tower, where he suffered above two years all the rigours of want and confinement. The king, however, notwithstanding his own difficulties, sent him, as a mark of his gratitude, an hundred guineas; but it was not till after the total suppression
of

of the royalists, that he was restored to his liberty.

Monk, though reduced to the greatest necessities, had always declined the tempting offers of the parliament. But Cromwell, sensible of his merit, earnestly importuned him to embark in the war against the Irish, who were now regarded as rebels both against the king and parliament; and Monk was not unwilling to retrieve his ruined affairs by accepting a command, which, he imagined, was consistent with the strictest principles of loyalty.

Having once entered into the service of the parliament, he was under a necessity of obeying orders; and found himself obliged to fight both against the marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and against the king himself in Scotland.

Upon the reduction of this last kingdom, Monk was entrusted with the supreme command; and, by his strict and impartial administration of justice, as well as by his mild and moderate behaviour, he entirely engaged the affections of the Scots.

With the officers and soldiers he was no less popular; and foreseeing that the attachment of the army under his command might one day be of use to him, he had, with equal

equal industry and success, endeavoured to secure their friendship.

His regard for the memory of Cromwell, his benefactor, retained him in his allegiance to his successor Richard, who, by his father, was desired to take no step of importance, without consulting general Monk. When the long parliament was re-established, Monk, who was not on the spot, and who was altogether unprepared for opposition, submitted to their authority, and was continued in his command, from which it would have been dangerous to dismiss him.

After the parliament was expelled by the army, he exclaimed against the violence, and was firmly resolved, as he pretended, to assert their violated privileges. Deeper designs, either in his own favour or in that of the king, were, from the beginning, supposed to be the motive of his actions.

A jealousy had long prevailed between him and Lambert; and every one saw the reason why he thwarted the schemes of that ambitious general, by whose success his own authority, he knew, would soon be destroyed. But no cordiality had ever subsisted between him and the parliamentary leaders; and it was very unlikely, that he meant to exert his power and hazard his life for the advancement of one enemy above another.

How early he conceived the design of restoring his majesty, cannot be determined with certainty : it is likely, that, immediately upon the deposition of Richard, he foresaw, that, without such a measure, it would be impossible to compose the troubles of the nation.

His elder and younger brothers were warmly attached to the royal cause : the Granvilles, his near relations, and all the rest of his kindred, were embarked in the same party : he himself was free from the fumes of enthusiasm, and had contracted no connexions with any of the fanatics.

He had entered early into the service of the king, and he had only left it by the loss of his liberty. From the time of his engaging with the opposite party he had always behaved with uncommon moderation, and had never been guilty of any outrage or violence.

His return, therefore, to loyalty was easy and natural ; and nothing, it was imagined, could restrain his propensity to that measure, but the prospect of his own advancement, and the hope of attaining the same power and authority, which had been possessed by Cromwell.

But from such ambitious, if not impracticable schemes, the natural modesty of his tem-

temper, the calmness and solidity of his genius, and his great age, now upon the decline, seemed to have removed him at a great distance.

Cromwell himself, he always affirmed, could not long have supported his usurpation; and any other person, even endued with the same genius, would find it impossible to continue the practice of arts, of the nature of which every one, from experience, was now sufficiently apprized.

It is therefore reasonable to conclude, notwithstanding any surmises to the contrary, that Monk never entertained the least thought of raising himself to the supreme authority; and that the view of restoring the king was the true motive of his future conduct.

If he was long in discovering his intentions, it ought to be remarked, that silence was necessary in his situation, and that, if he had revealed the secret sooner, he might have retarded, if not prevented, the execution of the scheme, which he meant to accomplish.

Sir John Granville, supposing that the general would declare in the king's favour, dispatched into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the king. When the doctor came to Edinburgh, he found

that his brother was then employed in a council of officers, and would not be disengaged for some hours. In the mean time he entered into conversation with Price, the general's chaplain, a man of honour, and a zealous friend to the royal cause.

The doctor, being fully convinced of the chaplain's integrity, ventured to acquaint him with the object of his journey, and requested him, if it should be necessary, to assist him with all his interest.

At last the general arrived; and, after mutual compliments, the doctor informed him of the nature of his business. Monk stopped him short, and asked whether he had ever disclosed the matter to any other person. "To none," said the doctor, "but to Price, of whose fidelity, I know, you are fully satisfied." The general changing his countenance, shifted the discourse, and would enter into no conversation with him on the subject; but sent him away with the first opportunity. He would not trust his own brother, as soon as he found that he had revealed the secret; though only to a man in whom he himself had the most perfect confidence.

His conduct in all other respects was equally cautious and reserved; and no less necessary for accomplishing the arduous task which

which he had undertaken. All the officers in the army, of whom he was in the least suspicious, he immediately dismissed : Cobbet, who had been sent by the committee of safety, under pretence of imparting their resolutions to Monk, but, in reality, with a view of corrupting his army, he instantly imprisoned : the several regiments, dispersed in different parts of the kingdom, he forthwith collected : he convoked an assembly, somewhat analogous to a convention of estates in Scotland ; and having acquainted them with his design of marching into England, he received a small but reasonable supply of money.

Understanding that Lambert was proceeding northwards with his army, Monk dispatched Cloberry and two other commissioners to London to assure the committee of his peaceable disposition, and to propose terms of accommodation. His chief view was to procure delay, and retard the preparations of his enemies.

The stratagem took effect. The committee of safety agreed to a treaty, which was at last signed by the commissioners ; but Monk refused to confirm it ; on pretence that his commissioners had exceeded their instructions. He desired, however, to engage in a new negotiation at Newcastle.

The committee were again caught in the snare, and accepted of this deceitful offer.

The nation, mean while, had fallen into a state of perfect anarchy; and by refusing the payment of all taxes, reduced the troops to the greatest extremities. While Lambert was collecting his forces at Newcastle, Hazelrig and Morley entered Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party sent to quell the insurrection, were induced by their commander to embrace the same interest.

The city apprentices rose in a body, and insisted on a free parliament. Though they were suppressed by colonel Hewson, a man who had once been a cobler, but was now possessed of a high rank in the army, the city still retained its ill humour, and discovered marks of the highest dissatisfaction. It even erected a kind of seperate government, and exercised a supreme authority within itself.

Admiral Lawson with his squadron entered the river, and declared for the parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, informed of these events, quitted Portsmouth, and hastened towards London. The regiments in the neighbourhood of that city, were persuaded by their old officers, who had been dismissed by the committee of safety,

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once more to espouse the cause of the parliament. Desborough's regiment, which was sent by Lambert to assist his friends, no sooner reached St. Albans, than it declared for the same assembly.

Lenthall, the speaker, at the desire of the officers, resumed his former authority, and assembled the parliament, which had already been twice expelled with so much contempt and ignominy.

Their first step was to annul the act against the payment of excise and customs: they next chose commissioners for assigning quarters to the soldiers: and, without taking the least notice of Lambert, they enjoined the forces under his command to repair directly to those garrisons which were allotted them.

The condition of Lambert was now become entirely desperate.* Monk had passed the Tweed at Coldstream, and was advancing against him. His own soldiers abandoned him in great numbers, and revolted to the enemy.

Lord Fairfax too, he was told, had levied troops behind him, and taken possession of York, without declaring his intentions. By the last orders of the parliament, he was so totally deprived of his army, that he had not

not remaining above an hundred horse: all the rest returned to their quarters with quietness and submission; and himself was, soon after, arrested and sent to the Tower.

The other officers of the army, who had been formerly cashiered by the parliament, and had resumed their posts in order to expel that assembly, were again dismissed and confined to their own houses. Sir Harry Vane, and other members, who had countenanced the proceedings of the committee of safety, were subjected to a like confinement: and the parliament seemed now to have established its authority upon a more solid foundation than ever, and to be secure against any danger of opposition or contradiction.

Monk, though apprized of the restoration of the parliament, who sent him no orders, still continued to advance with his army, which was near six thousand strong. The forces in England were three times as numerous; but were dispersed in different parts of the kingdom. Fairfax, who had determined to declare for the king, finding it impossible to extort from the general a confession of his sentiments, withdrew to his house in Yorkshire.

In all the counties through which Monk passed, the prime gentry presented him ad-

addresses, beseeching him, in the most earnest manner, that he would use his interest in restoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of those liberties, to which, by law, they were justly entitled, but of which, during so many years, they had been cruelly deprived : and that, the better to effect this purpose, he would either endeavour to restore those members, who had been excluded before the king's death, or to procure the election of a new parliament, who might, legally, and by common consent, administer the affairs of the public.

Though Monk did not seem to approve of these addresses, the known honour and virtue of the man were considered as a pledge for his future conduct, and by his prudence and moderation, it was universally expected, a final period would be put to the troubles, in which the nation was at present involved.

The parliament were no sooner informed of the enemy's approach, than they dispatched Scot and Robinson, as their deputies, under pretence of congratulating the general, but in reality to watch and report his conduct. The city sent four of its principal inhabitants to pay him the like compliments; and at the same time to convince

vince him of the absolute necessity of calling a free parliament, the great object of all men's wishes.

Monk proceeded without interruption till he arrived at St. Albans. He there sent a message to the parliament, desiring them to remove from London those regiments, who, though they now pretended to return to their allegiance, had so lately dared to expel that assembly.

This demand was altogether unexpected, and threw the house into great perplexity. Their fate, they saw, must still be determined by a mercenary army : and their sovereign power, which, they had fondly imagined, was now at last completely established, was as precarious and uncertain as ever.

They thought it prudent, however, to gratify the general. The soldiers were less submissive. They broke out into an open mutiny. One regiment in particular, which was quartered in Somerset-House, declared, that they were determined to keep their place in spite of the northern army. But those officers, who, on such an occasion, would have been willing to foment and increase the quarrel, were either absent or in confinement ; and for want of leaders to conduct them, the soldiers were, at last, obliged, though with great reluctance, to retire.

Monk

Monk with his army took quarters in Westminister.

The general was introduced to the house with great solemnity ; and received, by the mouth of Lenthal, the public thanks for the great services, which he had done his country.

Monk was a sensible, though a homely speaker. He told the house, that the services, which he had been so happy as to perform, were no more than his duty, and deserved not the high praises, which they were now pleased to bestow upon him : that, among many persons of greater merit, who were engaged in their service, he had been employed as the instrument of providence for restoring them to their authority ; but he considered this service only as a step to more important benefits, which it was their part to confer on the nation : that, during the course of his march, he observed all ranks of men, in all places, to long ardently for a settlement of the nation, after the violent dissensions, to which they had been subject ; and to have no hopes of such a blessing, but from the dissolution of the present parliament, and from the convoking a new one, free and full, who, unfettered by oaths or engagements, might finally give satisfaction to the people : that addresses had been

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been presented him for that purpose; but that he, mindful of his duty, had still told the petitioners, that the parliament itself, which was now free and would soon be full, was the best judge of all these matters, and that the whole community ought quietly to submit to their decision: that though he had given this answer to the people, he must now take the liberty to acquaint the house, that the fewer engagements were demanded, the more comprehensive would their plan prove, and the more acceptable would it be to the people; and that it was sufficient for the public safety, if the fanatics and cavaliers were excluded; as the principles of the first were destructive of government, and those of the last were dangerous to liberty.

This speech was partly agreeable and partly disagreeable to the house, as well as to the nation: but it was perfectly consistent with the designs of the general: it kept every one in suspense with regard to his intentions, and preserved that uncertainty, in which it was so much his interest to retain the public.

It was impossible, however, that the kingdom should long remain in this doubtful situation: the ardour of the people, as well

as of the parliament, soon brought matters to a crisis.

During the late distractions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted ; and though the parliament, upon their restoration, had renewed their orders for all collections and impositions, yet so little authority did they possess in the nation, that the people obeyed their commands with great backwardness and reluctance.

The common-council of London absolutely refused to submit to an assessment demanded of them ; and openly declared, that, till a free and legal parliament was assembled, they would never consent to make any payment. This refusal would immediately have destroyed the authority of the parliament : they were, therefore, resolved, upon this occasion, to make at once a full tryal of their own strength and of the general's fidelity.

They ordered Monk to march into the city, to apprehend twelve persons who had contemned their authority, to break down the posts and chains in all the streets, and to raze and demolish the portcullises and gates of the city ; and they commanded him to see these violent orders carried into immediate execution.

To the great surprise and consternation of every one, Monk resolved to obey the injunction. Deaf to the earnest intreaties of his friends, to the warm remonstrances of his officers, and to the humble petitions and supplications of the people, he entered the city in a hostile manner : he seized as many as he could of the obnoxious persons, whom he committed to the Tower : he levelled with the ground the gates and portcullises : and having thus rendered the city entirely defenceless, and exposed it to scorn and contempt of its enemies, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster.

The general, however, had no sooner begun to reflect, than he instantly found that he had carried his dissimulation to too great a length. This last measure, he saw, instead of being a continuation of that prudent ambiguity which he had hitherto preserved, was declaring for a party in the plainest manner, and laying himself, as well as the nation, at the mercy of that cruel parliament, who had brought their sovereign to an infamous death, and who had been the chief cause of all the calamities, with which the kingdom had been since afflicted. He, therefore, determined, without delay, to atone for the error which he had unhappily committed, and to demonstrate openly

openly to the whole world, that he would no longer be the minister of vengeance to such unforgiving and unrelenting tyrants.

He immediately sent a letter to the house, in which, after complaining of the odious task which they had imposed upon him, he upbraided them, as well with the new cabals which they were carrying on with Vane and Lambert, as with the countenance given to a fanatical petition presented by Barebone ; and he demanded, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole community, that they should issue writs within a week for supplying the present vacancies in the house, and appoint the time for their own dissolution and the summoning of a new parliament.

Having dispatched this letter, which might be considered, he imagined, as a certain proof of his sincerity, he returned with his army into the city, and desired Sir Thomas Allen, the lord-mayor, to convoke a common-council at Guildhall.

He there endeavoured to apologize for the insults which, two days before, he had been obliged to offer them ; protested his firm adherence to the measures which he had embraced ; and begged, that a strict union might be effected between the city and army, and that they might aid and assist each other

other in every attempt for the settlement of the nation.

This conjunction between the city and army was no sooner known than the people expressed their joy and exultation by every mark of festivity and triumph. The royalists and presbyterians, burying in oblivion their feuds and animosities, congratulated each other on this fortunate event, and vowed never more to expose their country to the calamities of a civil war, by their unhappy divisions.

The populace, more violent in there joy, made the air resound with repeated acclamations ; and the whole city was enlightened with a general illumination. The praises of the general were every where mixed with reproaches against the parliament.

The most comical expedients were employed to ridicule that odious assembly. At every bonefire rumps were roasted ; and when these could no longer be found, pieces of flesh were cut into that form ; and the funeral of the parliament, the populace said, was solemnized by these marks of hatred and derision.

The parliament, foreseeing the approaching danger, resolved to make one effort for the preservation of their power. They dispatched

patched a committee to the general, and endeavoured, if possible, to gain him to their side. He refused to enter into any conference with them, except in the presence of the excluded members.

Though several persons, actuated by a sense of guilt or the fumes of fanaticism, engaged to advance him to the supreme authority, and to support his government at the hazard of their lives, he rejected the proposal with great magnanimity.

Having thoroughly established his interest in the city, and committed its militia to such hands as he could safely trust, he returned once more with his army to Westminster, and continued to prosecute the plan he had formed. While he affected to adhere to republican principles, he was paving the way for the restoration of the ancient monarchy.

The excluded members were desired by the general to go to the house, and seeing the way clear, they instantly entered, and soon appeared to be the majority.

They first annulled all the orders, by which they had been deprived of their seats: they restored Sir George Booth and all his party to their liberty and estates: they renewed and enlarged the general's commission: they voted an assessment for the main-

tenance of the fleet and army : and having taken these steps for the present composure of the nation, they dissolved themselves, and issued orders for the convoking of a new parliament. A council of state was appointed, composed of men of prudence and moderation ; most of whom, during the civil wars, had made a great figure among the Presbyterians.

The militia of the kingdom was entrusted to such as were most likely to preserve the public tranquillity. These, together with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were sufficient, it was thought, to overawe the more numerous, though dispersed forces, of whose inclinations there was still some reason to entertain a suspicion. Monk, however, was every day displacing the more turbulent officers, and reducing the troops to a state of discipline and submission.

Montague, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had engaged in the same conspiracy with Sir George Booth ; and under pretence of want of provision, had sailed from the sound towards the coast of England, with a design of supporting that attempt of the royalists.

On his arrival, he was informed of Booth's defeat, and the total miscarriage of the insurrection. The parliament being, at

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that time, involved in great difficulties, had no leisure to enquire into the reasons which he assigned for deserting his station ; and they allowed him to withdraw peaceably to his country house. The council of state now bestowed on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet.

While Monk was thus labouring for the re-establishment of monarchy, he still preserved the appearance of zeal for a republic, and would, as yet, engage in no correspondence with the king. To convoke a free parliament, and to restore the royal family, were evidently, in the present humour of the nation, one and the same thing : yet would the general make no declaration of his sentiments, nor discover, otherwise than by his actions, that he meant to promote the interest of his majesty.

There was one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, a person of a studious, contemplative turn, nearly allied to Monk, and one in whom he had always reposed the most unlimited confidence. To this friend alone did Monk communicate the particulars of the enterprize, which he had concerted.

Sir John Granville had come over to England with a commission from the king, and solicited the interest of Morrice in order to procure him admittance to the general ;
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but he was told, that the general desired him to impart his business to Morrice.

Granville, though earnestly pressed, twice refused to deliver his message to any but Monk himself; and that wary politician, now finding him a man on whom he could depend, admitted him to his presence, and acquainted him with his whole intentions.

Still, however, he declined to commit any thing to writing. He sent only a verbal message by Granville, assuring the king of his steady attachment, directing him what course to pursue in the present emergence, and advising him immediately to quit the Spanish territories, and withdraw into Holland.

He was afraid that Spain might detain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles embraced this counsel, and escaped with some difficulty to Breda. Had he delayed his departure but a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and respect, been secured by the Spaniards. Application was made to Lockart, the governour of Dunkirk, and one supposed to be favourable to the royal cause. The state of England was represented, the certainty of the restoration demonstrated, and great hopes of favour were given him, if he would gratify the wishes of the people, and admit the king into his garrison.

Lock-

Lockart lent a deaf ear to all these arguments. He still replied, he had received his commission from an English parliament, and he would not open his gates but in obedience to the orders of the same assembly. This delicacy, which has been condemned by the more zealous royalists, must surely be applauded by every friend to civil liberty.

Mean while the elections for the new parliament were every where carried in favour of the king's party. The enthusiasts and independents were seized with consternation, and finding it impossible to make any effectual opposition, gave way to the general torrent.

The Presbyterians and royalists, being united, composed the bulk of the nation, which, without noise, had with great impatience, called for the restoration. The former party were almost entirely masters of the kingdom; and some of the principal leaders among them began to insist on those conditions, which had been demanded of the late king in the treaty of Newport; but the general opinion was averse from any such jealous stipulations with their sovereign.

After the concessions made by his father, the liberty of the subject seemed sufficiently secure; and the additional terms required,

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as they had been framed during the greatest violence of the contest, implied rather an abolition than a limitation of monarchy. The general, especially, disapproved of all conditions; and was determined, that the crown, which he proposed to restore, should be bestowed on the king free and unincumbered by any restrictions.

Without farther jealousy, therefore, the people gave their votes in favour of those whom they knew to be attached to monarchy, and all men endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with that party, which was soon to govern the nation. The parliament had decreed, that no one should be chosen, who had himself, or whose father had carried arms, for the late king: but this ordinance was little, if at all, regarded.

The leaders of the Presbyterians, the earl of Manchester, lord Fairfax, lord Robarts, Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Anneley, Lewis, were resolved to atone for past misdemeanors by their present zeal for the royal cause; and by their former spirited and steady behaviour, they had obtained with their party the greatest influence and authority.

The situation of Ireland was no less favourable to the interests of the king. Monk had no sooner declared against the English army,

army, than he immediately sent emissaries into Ireland, and persuaded the officers in that kingdom to co-operate in the same measures.

Lord Broghill, president of Munster, and Sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, went so far as actually to engage in a correspondence with the king, and to assure him of their assistance for his restoration.

They had even the spirit, in conjunction with Sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, to take possession of the government, and to exclude Ludlow, who was devoted to the parliament; but whom they accused of a conspiracy with the committee of safety. Their prudence, however, was equal to their courage: though they held themselves in readiness to serve the king, they yet thought proper to make no declaration; till they should observe the turn, which affairs would take in England.

But all these agreeable prospects had well nigh been ruined by an unexpected accident. After the admission of the excluded members, the republican party, especially the king's judges, were filled with the most alarming fears, and endeavoured to propagate the same apprehensions through the whole army.

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They observed to the soldiers, that those gallant actions, which they had achieved during the war, and which were so highly applauded by the parliament, would, no doubt, be considered as the blackest crimes by the royalists, and would draw down upon the army the severest and most cruel vengeance : that all the professions which that party made of lenity and moderation, were at bottom fallacious and deceitful : that the king's death, the execution of so many royalists, the sequestrations and imprisonment of the rest, were, in their eyes, crimes so atrocious, and offences so unpardonable, as must be prosecuted with the most implacable rancour : that the loss of arrears, the dismission of every officer and soldier, was the gentlest punish that would be inflicted : that, after disbanding of the army, they had no further security, either for their lives or liberties, but the mercy of enraged enemies : and that, even if no danger were to be apprehended, it was base and disgraceful, by fraud and treachery, to be reduced to subjection under a foe, whom, by their superior courage and conduct, they had finally conquered in the field.

These insinuations were beginning to operate on the minds of the soldiers, when, at that critical moment, Lambert escaped from

from the Tower. Monk and the council were justly alarmed. Lambert was remarkable for vigour and capacity : his popularity in the army was still considerable ; and though the soldiers had lately abandoned him, they were extremely sorry for that imprudence, and were highly incensed against the perfidy of those, who, by false professions, they found, had so egregiously deceived them.

It was, therefore, necessary, to exert the greatest activity in suppressing so dangerous an enemy. Colonel Ingoldsby, who had been appointed one of the late king's judges, but had now joined the royal party, was immediately sent after him.

He came up with him at Daventry, while he had yet drawn together but four troops of horse. One of them abandoned him. Another soon followed the example. He himself, attempting to escape, was apprehended by Ingoldsby, of whom he petitioned his life with a meanness unworthy of his former character.

Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Crede, and other officers of that party, were seized along with him. All the roads were crowded with soldiers hastening to reinforce him. In a few days, he would have been at the head of a powerful army ; and it was judged unsafe

for Monk to have assembled any considerable number of his republican forces to march against them: so that nothing could be more fortunate than the sudden suppression of this insurrection.

The parliament had no sooner met, than they elected Sir Harbottle Grimstone for their speaker, a man, who, though he had some time concurred with the late parliament, had long been attached to the royal party.

The profound silence, observed by the general, kept every one in awe; and no one ventured, for some days, to make any mention of the king's name. The members chiefly employed their time in pouring forth the most bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in expressing their detestation and abhorrence of the inhuman murder of their late sovereign.

At last, the general, having sufficiently sounded their inclinations, desired Annesley, president of the council, to acquaint them, that Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons,

This intelligence was received with acclamations of joy. Granville was called in: the letter, together with a declaration, immediately read: without a moment's delay, and without

without one dissenting voice, a committee was named to draw up an answer: and in order to propagate the joyful news through the whole kingdom, it was resolved, that the letter and declaration should be instantly published.

The king's declaration was well fitted to maintain the satisfaction, inspired by the hopes of public tranquillity.

It promised a general indemnity to all persons whatsoever; and that without any exceptions but such as the parliament should think proper to make: it offered a liberty of conscience, and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which should be deemed necessary for insuring that indulgence: it referred to the arbitration of parliament the examination of all grants, purchases, and alienations: and it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them, for the future, the same pay which they now enjoyed.*

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* It may not be improper to insert the declaration at length; by which means the reader will be enabled to judge, how faithfully the king adhered to it in the sequel, or rather how shamefully he deviated from it, in many instances. It was dated from Breda, and contained in the following terms.

" Charles

The lords, observing the spirit of unanimity, by which the kingdom as well as the com-

" Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction and confusion, which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing, that those wounds, which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we desire to contribute thereunto: and that, as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to recover the right, which God and nature hath made our due; so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us, and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as possible: nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanting and deserved.

" And to the end that fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration both of king, and peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights; we do by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our great

commons were governed, resolved to repossess themselves of their ancient authority,

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great seal of England, to all our subjects of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects ; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted, let all our subjects, how guilty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us, or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least indamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or terms of distinction from the rest of our best subjects ; we desiring and ordaining, that, henceforward, all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights, and theirs, in a free parliament, by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised.

" And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other ; which, when they shall be hereafter united in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood ; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences ; and that no man be disquieted, or called

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and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. The doors of their house they found open ; and all were allowed to enter, even such as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

On the eighth day of May, the king was proclaimed in Palace-yard, Whitehall, and at Temple-bar, the two houses attending at the solemnity. The commons allotted five hundred pounds to buy a jewel for Granville,

called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom ; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

" And because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law, upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases shall be determined in parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

" And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under general Monk ; and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy."

ville, who had brought them the king's messages: they presented fifty thousand pounds to the king, ten thousand to the duke of York, five thousand to the duke of Gloucester. A committee of lords and commons was appointed to invite his majesty to return and take possession of his dominions.

In a word, every step relating to this important event, was taken with such zeal and unanimity, that, according to the expression of the noble historian, one could not but wonder where those people dwelt, who had done all the mischief, and kept the king so long from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects. The king himself said, that it must surely have been his own fault, that he had not sooner taken possession of the throne, since every body was so zealous for restoring him to it.

The respect of foreign powers soon succeeded the submission of the king's subjects. Spain importuned him to return to the Low Countries, and take shipping in any of her maritime towns. France assured him of her friendship and regard, and offered Calais for the same purpose. The States-General sent deputies to give him the like friendly invitation. The king determined to accept of the last offer.

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The people of that country had always treated him with particular regard; and their magistrates were no longer restrained by political motives from showing him the like civility. In his journey from Breda to the Hague, he was accompanied with numerous crowds, and was every where congratulated on his happy restoration.

After receiving the compliments of the States-General, and of all the foreign ministers and ambassadors who resided in Holland, he repaired to Scheveling, where the English fleet was by this time arrived. Montague, without waiting for orders from the parliament, had prevailed on the officers, of their own accord, to make an offer of their service to his majesty. The duke of York immediately went on board, and assumed the command of the fleet as lord high admiral.

When the king landed at Dover, he was met by the general, whom he embraced with great cordiality, honouring him with the appellation of father and benefactor.

Never subject surely had performed greater services to his king and country. In the space of a few months, without violence or bloodshed, merely by his prudent and disinterested conduct, he had restored his sovereign to the possession of his throne, and

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re-established the peace and tranquillity of three kingdoms. The king entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was likewise his birth-day; a circumstance, which the people, in their present disposition, were apt to consider as an happy omen.*

CHARLES

* This era had the honour of producing the celebrated Milton, whose poems do honour to the nation that gave him birth, and indeed to human nature. He was Cromwell's secretary for the Latin tongue; though his great genius seems to have been very little known to his employers: for he is mentioned by Whitelocke as an obscure blind man, very unfit for his office. About the same time flourished Sir William Davenant, Sir John Denham, Waller, and Cowley, who, though indifferent poets, acquired a good share of reputation. The republican principles of the age gave rise to the *Oceana* of Harrington, containing the idea of a perfect commonwealth; and the controversies and absurdities which deformed religion, encouraged Hobbes to write and publish his *Leviathan*. To this period ought likewise to be referred the illustrious Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood, a circumstance which contributes greatly to the improvement of physic.

CHARLES II. A.D. 1660.

CHARLES the Second, at the time of his restoration, was in the thirtieth year of his age. He possessed a good constitution, an elegant shape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harsh and strong, yet was his countenance lively and agreeable.

Nor were his mental abilities inferior to his personal accomplishments. He was endued with a ready wit, a quick conception, a clear understanding, and a solid judgment. He was thoroughly acquainted with mechanics and ship-building; and was deeply read in the history and politics of the most considerable states in Europe.

But his other qualities were, by no means, correspondent. He was a latitudinarian in religion, careless, indolent, and immoderately addicted to pleasure. To the pernicious influence of his example, as much as to the nature of the human mind, so apt to be hurried from one extreme to another, must be ascribed that deluge of luxury and debauchery which soon after over-run the nation.

Charles

CHARLES II.



J. Hudd. sculp.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

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Charles had no sooner taken possession of the throne, than he began to turn his attention towards the affairs of the public. The first object that engrossed his care was the choice of his council; into which were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without distinction of parties: the presbyterians, as well as the royalists, shared this honour.

Annesley was also made earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley; Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis; admiral Montague, earl of Sandwich; Monk, duke of Albermarle. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime minister; the marquis, created duke, of Ormond, was steward of the household: the earl of Southampton, high-treasurer; the earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain; Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir William Morrice, secretaries of state. In order to gratify the Presbyterian clergy, two of their principal leaders, Calamy and Baxter, were appointed the king's chaplains.

As the parliament had been summoned without the king's consent, they received, at first, only the title of convention; and it was not till after a formal act had been passed for that purpose, that they assumed the denomination of a parliament.

All

All judicial proceedings, transacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector, they deemed it necessary to confirm by a new law : and both houses, confessing the guilt of the former rebellion, embraced his majesty's gracious pardon and indemnity.

The king, in his declaration from Breda, had promised an indemnity to all criminals, but such as should be excepted by parliament. He now issued a proclamation, importing, that such of the late king's judges as did not surrender themselves within fourteen days, should receive no pardon. Nineteen complied with this proclamation : some were taken in attempting to escape. Others fled to the Continent.

The lords seem to have been inclined to greater rigour than the commons. Engaged by the cruel treatment, which they had suffered, they were determined, besides the late king's judges, to condemn every one, who had sat in any high court of justice. Nay, the earl of Bristol moved to except all those, who had any way contributed to the late king's death.

So wide an exception, which might have included every one, who had served the parliament, filled the nation with the greatest apprehensions ; and men began to suspect, that

that this motion was the effect of some court artifice or intrigue.

But the king soon removed these suspicions. He came to the house of peers; and, in the most pathetic terms, pressed them to pass the general indemnity. He represented both the necessity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promise: a promise, he declared, which he would ever hold sacred; since probably, had it not been for it, neither he nor the lords had now been restored to the possession of their rights.

This measure of the king's in taking notice of a bill depending before the houses, was certainly irregular; but, as it discovered such a strict regard for his word, such a disposition to mercy, and such a concern for the safety of the subject, it met with the deserved applause and commendation.

After repeated importunities from the king, the bill of indemnity passed both houses, and soon received the royal sanction. Those who had an immediate share in the king's death, were there excepted: even Cromwell, Ireton, Pride, Bradshaw, and twenty others already dead, were attainted, and their estates confiscated. Philips and Hazelrig underwent the same fate: Hutchinson and Lascelles were condemned in a fine,

and declared incapable of exercising any employment.

Vane and Lambert, though none of the king's judges, were likewise excepted. St. John, and seventeen persons more were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they accepted, or executed any office, either ecclesiastical, civil, or military. All who had sat in any illegal high court of justice were disabled from bearing offices.

In a few days the regicides were tried and condemned. The indignation, entertained against the atrocious crime, which those men had committed, made the people rejoice and triumph in their punishment: but considering the peculiar circumstances of that action, the humour of the times, as well as the behaviour of the criminals, a person of a humane and generous disposition will be inclined to mingle his hatred with compassion.

General Harrison was first brought to his trial; and discovered the same absurd, but sincere prejudices, by which he had ever been governed. With great fortitude and dignity of sentiment he told the court, that the pretended crime, of which he stood accused, was not a deed, performed in a corner: that the sound of it had gone forth to all the earth; and in the strange and wonder-

dersful conduct of it had chiefly been displayed the sovereign power of heaven: that he himself, distracted by doubts, had frequently, in the most earnest manner, preferred his petitions to the divine majesty, and implored his counsel and direction; and that he had still been assured of a heavenly sanction, and returned from these devout exercises with more serene tranquility and composure: that all the nations of the earth, in the eyes of their creator, were less than the drop in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgments aught but darkness in comparison of divine illuminations: that these frequent suggestions of the divine spirit he could not suspect to be selfish illusions; since he was conscious, that, for no temporal interest, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman that trod upon the earth: that all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of imprisonment, had not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwell, to move his steady mind, or make him submit to the government of that perfidious tyrant: and that, when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne, and to accept of riches, splendour, and dominion, he had scornfully rejected all his offers; and, regardless of the tears of his friends and family, had still, in every for-

tune, maintained his principles and his integrity.

Scot, who was less an enthusiast, than a republican, had said in the house of commons, a little before the restoration, that he desired no other inscription on his tomb than this; "here lies Thomas Scot, who add'd
" judged the king to death." He discovered
the same intrepidity upon his trial. Carew, a Millenarian, submitted to his trial,
" saving to our lord Jesus Christ his right
" to the government of these kingdoms." Some refused to say, according to form, that they would be tried by God and their country, because God was not visibly present to judge them. Others said, that they would be tried by the word of God.

No more than six of the late king's judges, Harrison, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, were executed: Scrope the only one of all those who had complied with the king's proclamation. He was a gentleman of an ancient family, and of a good character; but strongly possessed with the prejudices of times, he had lately, in company, expressed his approbation of the share which he had in the king's death.

Axtel, who guarded the high court of justice; Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution; Coke, who acted

ected, on the trial, as solicitor for the people of England; Hugh Peters, the furious, fanatical preacher, who wrought up the army to regicide: all these were tried, and condemned, and executed with the king's judges.

What is most remarkable, there was no one of these criminals, who could be persuaded to express the least sign of repentance, or to renounce the absurd belief of his being a martyr. Two of them only could be prevailed on to pray for the king. The rest of the king's judges, by an uncommon instance of lenity, were reprieved; and they were committed to different prisons.

Mean while the parliament were employed in settling the king's revenue. In this work, they showed an equal regard for maintaining the liberties of the nation and supporting the dignity of the crown.

The tenures of wards and liveries had long been considered as a public grievance. During the reign of James several attempts had been made to purchase this prerogative from the crown. In the time of the commonwealth, wardships and liveries had been utterly abolished: and even in the present parliament, before the king's restoration, a bill had been introduced, offering him an equivalent for these revenues. An hundred

thousand pounds a year was the sum which the parliament proposed ; and the king, sensible that these imports did not yeild so much profit, readily accepted the offer. Half of the excise was granted in perpetuity to the crown as the fund for producing that revenue.

Tonnage and poundage, and the other half of excise, were settled upon the king during life. The parliament went so far as to vote that the yearly revenue of the crown, for all charges, should amount to twelve hundred thousand pounds ; a sum greater than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed.

This revenue, however, was only voted : no funds were appointed, which would furnish above two thirds of that sum : the fulfilment of these engagements were left to the future consideration of parliament.

To disband the forces, so formidable by their numbers and valour, and so much accustomed to violence and outrage, was absolutely necessary for the public tranquillity ; and, in order to enable his majesty to effect that purpose, an assessment was imposed of seventy thousand pounds a month. Having taking these steps towards compleating the settlement of the nation, the parliament thought proper to adjourn.

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But all the satisfaction, which the king received from the duty of his loyal subjects, and the punishment of his declared enemies, was greatly damped by the death of the duke of Gloucester, who was carried off by the small-pox, in the twentieth year of his age.

The king, by no incident in his life, was ever so deeply afflicted. Gloucester was observed to unite in himself the good qualities of both his brothers : the clear judgment and quick perception of the king ; the vigour and application of the duke of York. He was likewise endued with another quality, of which the duke of York was entirely destitute, and in which the king was supposed to be deficient. He was warmly attached to the religion and constitution of his country.

After an interval of near two months the parliament re-assembled, and resumed the consideration of public affairs. They established the post-office, wine-licences, and some other branches of the revenue. They continued the assessment of seventy thousand pounds a month, for paying the arrears of the soldiers.

Business, being conducted with great unanimity, was soon finished : and after they had set about ten months, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them.

Clarendon was generally considered as the king's chief counsellor; and so long as the advice of that able statesman was followed, the conduct of Charles, in most respects, may be said to be unexceptionable.

He now applied himself to the paying and disbanding the army. When he reviewed these veteran troops, he was charmed with their beauty, order, discipline and martial appearance; and thinking, as was too natural, that regular forces were a necessary implement of royalty, he expressed a desire of still retaining them in his service.

But the chancellor set before him the dangerous consequences of such a measure. He represented the turbulent spirit with which these troops were possessed, their enthusiastic genius, their propensity to mutiny and rebellion; and he convinced the king that, till they were broke, he could never esteem himself to be firmly established on his throne.

All the forces, therefore, were immediately disbanded, except a few guards and garrisons, amounting to a thousand foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in England. The fortifications of Gloucester, Taunton, and some other towns, which had opposed

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the king, during the civil wars, were likewise demolished.

Clarendon, not noly discharged the office of chancellor with great wisdom and integrity: every other part of his conduct, was equally laudable and praise worthy. Charles, accustomed in his exile to follow implicitly the advice of that faithful servant, continued still to observe the same maxim; and for some time no minister was ever possessed of more unlimited authority.

He restrained the head-strong zeal of the royalists, and checked their desire of revenge. To the opposite party, he endeavoured to make good all the king's engagements: he kept an exact list of every promise which had been given for services, and he exerted his utmost industry to fulfil them.

This virtuous minister was now closely connected with the royal family. His daughter Anne Hyde, a woman of great beauty and spirit, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addresses of the duke of York, and, under promise of marriage, had indulged him in the privileges of a husband.

Her pregnancy appeared soon after the restoration; and though the duke seemed unwilling to contract so unequal an alliance, the king, in pity to his friend and minister, who had been totally unacquainted with these

these engagements, compelled his brother to espouse her. Clarendon expressed great uneasiness at the honour which had been bestowed upon him ; and frequently said, that, by being raised so much above his rank, he thence apprehended a more terrible downfall.

The next object which engrossed the attention of the king, was the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, which were now involved in great disorder.

Had the parliament thought proper to restore the king upon strict limitations, the establishment of Presbyterian discipline would, in all probability, have been one of the conditions on which they had most rigidly insisted. Not only were the Presbyterian clergy at present possessed of the livings : all the leading men in parliament were of that communion, and would not have failed to procure the countenance of civil authority to their own mode of worship.

But as the king had been restored without restrictions, the re-establishment of the hierarchy, along with the monarchy, was the natural and necessary consequence.

All the royalists were attached to that mode of religion : it was considered as more agreeable, than the Presbyterian, to the spirit of a monarchial government : the episcopal

episcopal clergy had always maintained an inviolable attachment to his late majesty, and had been exposed to many hardships on account of their loyalty : the laws, which established bishops and the liturgy, were not, as yet, annulled by legal authority : and any attempt of the parliament, by new acts, to abolish episcopacy and establish presbytery, had probably been sufficient to throw the nation into fresh convulsions.

Influenced by these considerations, the commons had wisely declined the examination of all ecclesiastical controversies, and had left entirely the settlement of the church to the king and to the laws.

In this work Charles at first proceeded with great prudence and moderation. Nine bishops were still alive ; and these were immediately re-instated in their dioceses : all the ejected clergy were restored to their livings : the liturgy was again admitted into the churches : but, at the same time, in order to gratify the Presbyterians, and maintain an appearance of neutrality, a declaration was published, importing, that suffragan bishops should be provided for the larger dioceses ; that the prelates should, all of them, be regular and constant preachers ; that they should not ordain

dain or exercise any jurisdiction, without the consent and approbation of Presbyters, elected by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the liturgy, as would render it agreeable to all parties; that, in the mean time, no one should be compelled to receive that mode of worship; and that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, should not be deemed indispensably necessary.

But though these appearances of neutrality were observed, and a mitigated episcopacy seemed only to be established, it was far from the intention of the ministry always to persevere in the same moderate conduct. The madness of the fifth-monarchy men furnished them with a pretext for adopting contrary maxims.

Venner, a frantic enthusiast, who had often conspired against the life of Cromwell, having, by his vehement harangues, inflamed his own mind and that of his followers, issued forth at their head into the streets of London. They were, in number, about sixty persons, completely armed, believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and presumptuously hoped for the same interposition of Providence in their favour, which had been shown to Gideon, and other heroes of the Old Testament.

No one at first dared to oppose them. One unhappy man they seized, and questioning him with regard to his opinion, he unluckily said, that he was for God and king Charles: for this impiety, as they termed it, they instantly put him to death. They marched in triumph from street to street, every where proclaiming king Jesus, who, they said, was their invisible leader.

At length the magistrates, having collected some trained-bands, ventured to attack them. They made a most brave and desperate resistance, and, after killing a good number of the assailants, they retreated in a body to Cane-wood, near Hampstead.

Next morning they were dislodged from thence by a party of the guards; but they had the boldness once more to invade the city, which was not prepared to oppose them. After committing the most terrible outrages, and traversing almost every street of that great capital, they took shelter in a house, which they were determined to defend to the last extremity.

The people surrounding and uniting the house, poured down volleys of shot upon them from every side; but they still refused to surrender. The assailants rushed in upon them, and seized the few who remained alive.

They were all tried, condemned, and executed; and affirmed to the last, that if they were deceived, the Lord was their deceiver.

The state of England being now brought to some tolerable composure, the king began to turn his attention towards the affairs of Scotland. Some members of the council proposed, that the Scots should be held in subjection by means of a standing army, and the forts which had been erected by Cromwell.

This measure was warmly opposed by the earl of Lauderdale, who, ever since the battle of Worcester, had remained a prisoner in the Tower, and was now admitted into the English council. He observed, that the Scots had been reduced to slavery in consequence of the efforts which they had made in behalf of his majesty; and though no notice was taken of them in the declaration from Breda, the king could not, without incurring the imputation of ingratitude, allow them to remain in a state of misery and oppression. He said they were so humbled, that they would readily comply with any reasonable terms of submission, provided their liberty and independence might be restored & that the attachment of the Scots to their native prince was warm and sincere, and would be

be a good resource to him in case of any disturbances in his English dominions.

Charles was satisfied with these arguments. He instantly gave orders to disband all the forces in Scotland and to demolish all the forts, which had been erected.* General Middleton, created earl of that name, was sent commissioner to the parliament, which was now assembled, and which discovered, in all their proceedings, a very compliant disposition.

The commissioner had even interest sufficient to procure an act, repealing, at once, all laws which had passed since the year 1633; under pretext of the violence which had been used in extorting the king and his father's consent to these statutes. As all the laws in favour of Presbytery had been enacted since that period, these, of consequence, were, by this means annulled, and the prelacy, in effect, restored.

The king now deliberated what course he should pursue in this delicate affair. Lauderdale, who at the bottom was a zealous Presbyterian, endeavoured to convince him, that the Scots, if gratified in this favourite article, would, in every other point, be obedient to his will.

P 2 Charles,

* A. D. 1661.

Charles, though perfectly indifferent to all forms of religion, had been so rudely treated by the Scottish ecclesiastics, that he ever after entertained a violent prejudice against them. He said to Lauderdale, that Presbyterianism, he thought, was not a religion fit for a gentleman; and he could not, therefore, consent to its longer continuance in Scotland: as if forsooth, he had had the power, as he imagined he had the right, to alter at once the religious opinions of a whole nation.

Middleton too and his other ministers told him, that the Scots in general were dissatisfied with their clergy; and that any other mode of worship would be extremely acceptable: an insinuation, than which nothing could be more false and scandalous. And Clarendon, as well as Ormond, dreaded, that the Presbyterians, if favoured with a legal establishment in Scotland, would give an encouragement to their numerous brethren in England and Ireland; and perhaps disturb the tranquility of the church in both these kingdoms; an apprehension, which though seemingly natural, has, happily been found to be, in a great measure, groundless.

These considerations, however, were deemed a sufficient reason for restoring prelacy

lacy in Scotland; a measure, which was afterwards, as the king and his ministers, had they possessed common penetration, might have easily foreseen, productive of the most fatal consequences.

Sharpe, who was deputed by the Presbyterians in Scotland to manage their affairs with the king, was persuaded to abandon that party; and as a reward for his compliance, was created archbishop of St. Andrews. The conduct of ecclesiastical affairs was committed to him; and as he was esteemed a traitor and apostate by his old friends, he became on that account, as well as from the violence of his measures, extremely odious to the nation.

As Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had not come under any engagements to the Scots, he resolved, very ungenerously, to take advantage of that circumstance, and to wreak his vengeance on some of those, whom he supposed to be the principal authors of the late commotions. The marquis of Argyle, and one Guthrie, a minister, were the unhappy victims.

Two acts of indemnity, one passed by the late king in 1641, another by the present in 1651, secured, it was thought, effectually the life of Argyle; and prevented all enquiry into that part of his conduct, which might be deemed the most unjustifiable.

His enemies, however, were bent upon his ruin ; in order to effect this, it was determined to try him for his compliance with the usurpation ; a crime common to him with the whole nation, and such a one as the most dutiful subject might frequently, by violence, be compelled to commit.

To prove that compliance the more voluntary and sincere, there were produced in court letters, which he had wrote to Monk, when that general commanded in Scotland, and which expressed his most hearty and warm attachment.

But, besides the general indignation, entertained against Monk for betraying his friend by revealing a private correspondence ; men thought, that even the highest demonstrations of affection might, during jealous times, be demanded as a necessary mark of submission from a person of Argyle's rank, and could not, by any fair construction, infer the crime of treason.

Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, and the excellent defence made by the prisoner, the parliament were become so shamefully servile, as to pronounce sentence against him ; and he died with a courage and resolution worthy of his former conduct.

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if Argyle was condemned for crimes committed before the two acts of indemnity above mentioned, these of consequence were of no force; and the late indemnity, which the king had granted, to his English subjects, might, on occasion, be esteemed of no more validity. If he was condemned for his compliance with Cromwell's usurpation, every individual in Scotland was guilty of the same crime, and might, if the king pleased, be subjected to the same punishment. If the share whch he had in the late commotions, was the real cause of his condemnation, and his acquiescence in Cromwell's government was only the pretence, every English subject, engaged in the parliamentary party, might, by the same chicanery, be brought to the block; and thus the spirit of the general indemnity be entirely eluded. The king himself seems to have been so sensible of the iniquity of the sentence that he restored the estate to the lord Lorn, son to Argyle.

Guthrie was a seditious preacher, and is said to have personally affronted the king; though the punishment, perhaps, may appear too severe for the offence. Sir Archibald Johnson of Warriston was attainted and escaped into France; but he was soon after seized, brought over, and executed. He had

had a considerable share in all the late disturbances; and was even suspected of holding a secret correspondence with the English regicides.

Nor were these the only instances of complaisance shown by the Scottish parliament: they granted his majesty an additional revenue of forty thousand pounds a year, to be levied by way of excise.

This sum was meant to support a small force for the preservation of the public tranquillity. They likewise passed an act declaring the covenant to be unlawful, and no longer binding or obligatory.

In England all party names appeared to be abolished by the equity and moderation of Charles's government. Cavalier and Round-head were entirely forgotten; and all men seemed to agree in acknowledging the king's lawful prerogatives, and in securing the just privileges of the people and parliament. Theological disputes alone still subsisted, and kept alive some remains of that violent spirit, which had involved the kingdom in such terrible disorders.

The Presbyterians, finding themselves confounded with the other sectaries, whom they mortally hated, desired a conference with some of the episcopal persuasion, in order, if possible, to effect a thorough accommo-

CHARLES II. 177

commodation. A conference was accordingly held in the Savoy, between twelve bishops and as many leaders among the Presbyterian clergy ; and great hopes were entertained, that some scheme might be devised, which would finally give contentment to both parties.

It soon appeared, however, that this desirable end could not be attained. Each party threw on its antagonist the blame of the miscarriage.

The bishops alledged, that the Presbyterians would yield no compliances : the Presbyterians pretended, that the bishops would make no concessions ; and after a long and violent altercation, they separated more than ever inflamed against each other.

Meanwhile the king had summoned a parliament, and the elections went every where in favour of the court party. No more than fifty-six members of the Presbyterian persuasion had procured seats in the lower house ; and these were able neither to defeat nor retard the measures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and episcopacy were restored to their full splendour ; and were now exalted to as great a height as they had ever before attained.

The commons having chosen Sir Edward Turner speaker, immediately proceeded to busi-

business. They passed an act for the security of the king's government and person. To intend or devise the king's imprisonment, bodily harm, or dethronement, or the making war against him, is decreed, during the life of his present majesty, to be high-treason.

To call him a Papist or Heretic, or to endeavour, by speech or writing, to deprive him of the affections of his subjects: who ever was guilty of these offences, was declared incapable of enjoying any employment in church or state.

To maintain the indissoluble authority of the long parliament, or to affirm that either, or both houses, without the king, are possessed of a legislative power, or that the covenant is obligatory; who ever defended those dangerous positions was subject to the penalty of a premunire.

The covenant itself, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice, that for signing the engagement, and that for converting England into a commonwealth were ordered to be burned by the hands of the hangman.

The custom of petitioning had been so much abused in the course of the former reign, that some provision seemed now necessary to prevent the effects of so dangerous a practice.

It was decreed, that no more than twenty hands should be subscribed to any petition, without the authority of three justices, or the majority of the grand jury : and that no petition should be presented to the king or either house by above twenty persons. The violation of this law subjected the delinquent to a fine of an hundred pounds and three months imprisonment.

The bishops, though reinstated in their spiritual authority, were still deprived of their seats in parliament, by the law which the late king had passed immediately before the beginning of the civil disorders. As the consent both of the king and parliament to that law had been altogether forced and involuntary, their friends had less difficulty in persuading the parliament to repeal it.

Charles appeared to be highly pleased, when he gave his sanction to the act for that purpose. It is certain, that the interest of the crown, as well as the dignity of the church, required, that the prelates should be established in the possession of their ancient rights ; nor has the measure, however unpopular, been attended with those dangerous consequences, which some pretended friends of liberty have affected to apprehend : on the contrary it has been found, on the most important occasions, to be the firmest and

and most invincible barrier against the encroachments of the crown.

After an adjournment of some months the parliament re-assembled, and proceeded in their deliberations with the same spirit, which they had before discovered.

The power of the sword had, in all ages, been supposed to be lodged in the crown; and though no law bestowed this prerogative, every parliament, till the last of the former reign, had willingly submitted to an authority, more ancient than any positive statute.

It was now judged necessary solemnly to renounce the pretensions of that parliament, and to declare, that neither house, nor both houses, independent of the king, are entitled to any military authority.

The preamble to this bill went so far as to disclaim all right even of defensive arms against the king; a concession, which, however necessary for public peace, must yet be understood with great limitations.

The parliament, in all their other proceedings, showed a more anxious concern to prevent rebellion in the subject than usurpation in the crown: the late evils of civil war and dissipation had naturally increased the spirit of submission to the sovereign.

reign, and thrown the nation into that extreme, no less dangerous than the other.

During the government of the parliament and protectors, all magistrates, suspected of disaffection, had been excluded the corporations; and none had been admitted, but such as gave proofs of attachment to the ruling powers, and agreed to sign the covenant.

To suffer authority to remain in such hands was deemed of dangerous consequence; and the parliament, therefore, empowered the king to name commissioners for purging the corporations, and for expelling such members as had intruded themselves by force, or embraced principles, dangerous to the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical,

It was also decreed, that all magistrates should renounce the validity of the covenant, and should declare both their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretext whatever, to levy war against the king, and their detestation of that traitorous doctrine of taking arms by the king's authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him.

When the latter clause of this oath, the words, "commissioned by him;" which, in an unlimited sense, seem hardly reconcileable.

to a free government, came to be examined, it was proposed in the house, and strongly enforced by Sir John Vaughan, an eminent civilian, that the word, " lawfully," might be subjoined, in order to clear all doubts.

But the attorney-general, Sir Heneage Finch, replied, that it was altogether unnecessary: the very word, commission, implied it; since any power, not lawfully granted, to lawful persons, and for lawful purposes, was, in effect, no commission: and the whole house seemed to be satisfied with this interpretation, which, after all, favours strongly of a play upon words.

The same word, " lawfully," Southampton himself, in the house of peers, endeavoured to insert; but he received a like answer from Anglesey. Southampton still alledged, that such an improvement would remove all difficulties, and ease the minds of the people, who might otherwise imagine, that their liberties were in danger: but no regard was paid to the instances of that worthy peer.

Nor were this parliament less careful in regulating the polity of the church than in exalting the power of the monarchy: the bill of uniformity now passed the two houses and received the royal sanction.

A. D. 1662.

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By this bill it was enacted, that every clergyman, who had not received episcopal ordination, should now be re-ordained; that he should declare his assent to every thing contained in the book of common prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience; should abjure the solemn league and covenant; and should disclaim the principle of taking arms on any pretence whatsoever against the king.

Great clamour was raised against this bill, as if it had been an infringement of the king's declaration from Breda, in which he had promised an indulgence to tender consciences.

It is certain, however, that Charles only engaged to regulate that indulgence by the advice and authority of parliament, by which this bill was now enacted; though it may be reasonably questioned, whether that restriction could, with any justice, be extended to a total breach and violation of his promise; and it were to be wished, for the honour of the king, the peace of the church, and the tranquillity of the nation, that some scheme could have been devised, which might have given satisfaction to both parties.

Soon after, the parliament having granted his majesty an extraordinary supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds, together with an

imposition of two millings on every hearth, which was to continue during his life, the king thought proper to prorogue them.

Before the end of the session, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catharine of Portugal, to whom the king was affianced, and who had just arrived at Portsmouth.

During the war between Spain and the commonwealth, the protector was naturally led to assist the Portuguese in asserting their independence; and he bound himself by a treaty to furnish them with ten thousand men for their defence against the Spaniards.

After the king's restoration, proposals were made by Portugal for the renewal of that treaty; and in order, if possible, to contract a more firm alliance, an offer was made of a Portuguese princess, and a portion of three hundred thousand pounds, together with two fortresses, Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay in the East-Indies.

Spain, who, after the treaty of Pyrenees, directed her whole attention towards the recovery of Portugal, now in appearance deserted by France, was alarmed at this intended conjunction, and endeavoured to secure Charles in an opposite interest.

The Catholic king engaged to adopt any other princess as a daughter of Spain; either

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the princess of Parma, or, what he imagined would be more agreeable, some Protestant princess, the daughter of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange, and on any of these he undertook to bestow a dowry equal to that which was offered by Portugal.

But Charles was disposed, for many reasons to prefer the Portuguese alliance. The disordered state of the finances of Spain rendered the performance of her promises extremely doubtful; and the king's pressing necessities required some immediate supply of money.

It seemed likewise for the interest of the English commerce, that the independence of Portugal should be maintained; lest the subjection of that kingdom to Spain, should render one prince entire master of all the American treasures.

The pretensions too of Spain to Dunkirk and Jamaica made it impossible, without the restoration of these places, to procure the sincere friendship of that crown; and on the other hand, the offer, of two such considerable fortresses as Tangiers and Bombay, which were offered by Portugal, promised a great accession to the naval force of England. Above all, the proposal of a Protestant princess was no temptation to Charles, whose inclinations

unhappily prompted him to prefer a Catholic alliance.

It is generally thought, that the resolution of espousing the daughter of Portugal, was taken by the king without the knowledge or consent of his ministers; and that no arguments could afterwards induce him to alter his intentions.

Clarendon, together with Ormond and Southampton, endeavoured to dissuade him from this match; and particularly informed him of a report, which was current, of the incapacity of the princess to have children: but all their remonstrances were of no effect.

When the matter was proposed in the council, all were unanimous in approving the resolution; and the parliament discovered the same complaisance. And thus was concluded, seemingly, to the satisfaction of the nation, the inauspicious marriage with Catharine of Portugal, a princess of sense and virtue, but who was never able, either by the charms of her mind or her person, to engage the affections of the king. The report, however, of her natural incapacity to have children seems to have been without foundation; as she was twice declared to be pregnant.

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The celebration of the nuptials was succeeded by the trial and execution of criminals. Berkstead, Cobbet, and Okey, three regicides, had fled to the Continent; and after lying some time concealed in Germany, they had repaired to Delft, having ordered their families to meet them in that place.

They were discovered by Downing the king's ambassador in Holland, who had formerly acted in the same character for Cromwell and the commonwealth, and who had once been chaplain to Okey's regiment. He applied to the States for a warrant to apprehend them.

The States had always been wont to grant such warrants; though, at the same time, they had even taken care to give private intelligence to the persons, that they might have time to provide for their safety.

This precaution was defeated by the vigour and dispatch of Downing. He instantly arrested the criminals, hurried them on board of a ship which lay off the coast, and sent them over to England. They had no sooner arrived at London, than they were tried and condemned. They behaved with greater modesty and submission than any of the other regicides.

Okey.

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Okey, in particular, at the place of execution, prayed for the king and declared, that, had he lived, he intended to have peaceably submitted to the established government. From the station of a chandler in London he had risen, in the course of the wars, to a high rank in the army; and in the whole of his conduct he seems to have been a man of honour and integrity.

The attention of the public was soon after engrossed by the trial of two celebrated criminals, Vane and Lambert. These men, though not immediately concerned in the murder of the king, had been excluded from the benefit of the general indemnity, and thrown into prison.

The convention parliament, however, had been so favourable to them as to request the king, that, if they should be found guilty, he would be pleased to grant them a reprieve: but this parliament, being chiefly composed of royalists, applied for their trial and condemnation.

Not to revive disputes, which were better forgotten, the indictment of Vane extended not to any of his actions during the war between the king and parliament: it related only to his conduct after the late king's death, as member of the council of state, and secretary of the navy; where fidelity

dentity to the trust committed to him, required his opposition to monarchy.

Vane, though an enthusiast in religion, was a man of distinguished abilities ; and he defended himself with equal courage and capacity. He observed, that, if a submission to the government, at that time established in England, and an acknowledgment of its authority, were to be considered as criminal, the whole nation was equally guilty, and there would be none, whose innocence could intitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treasons : that, according to this method of proceeding, wherever an illegal government was erected by force, it must be attended with a total and universal destruction, while the usurper punished one part of the nation for disobedience, and the lawful prince condemned the other for compliance : that the legislature of England, in order to prevent this dreadful consequence, had provided for the security of the subject by the famous Statute of Henry the seventh ; enacting, that no man, in case of any revolution, should ever be called to account for his obedience to the king in being : that whether the established government was a monarchy or commonwealth, the spirit of the Statute was still the same ; nor ought the expelled prince to think

think he had a right to allegiance, while he is incapable of affording protection: that the controversy between the late king and parliament, was of a very nice and delicate nature; and men of the greatest parts and probity had been at a loss to fix their choice: that the parliament, being declared indissoluble but by their own consent, was become a power coordinate with the king; and as the case was thus entirely new and unprecedented, it ought not to be examined strictly by the letter of the ancient laws: that, for his part, all the outrages, which had been offered to the king and the parliament, he had ever disapproved: nor had he once entered the house for some time before and after his majesty's execution: that, seeing the whole nation involved in anarchy and confusion, he was still determined to serve his country in the best manner he could, and in every revolution, to adhere invariably to the commons, the source and origin of all lawful authority: that, in prosecution of this principle, he had cheerfully suffered all the violence of Cromwell's usurpation; and would now, with equal alacrity, submit to the rigours of perverted law and justice; and that, though he might easily, on the king's restoration, have saved himself by flight, he was resolved, in imitation of

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the most celebrated names of antiquity, to sacrifice his life in defence of liberty, and to seal with his blood his attachment to that honourable cause, in which he had engaged.

But all the arguments, which Vane could urge, however strong and unanswerable, had no effect. The Judges, influenced more by a spirit of revenge, for the great share which he had had in the beginning and prosecution of the civil wars, than by the justice of the charge which was brought against him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and condemned him to death: though every one of themselves might, with the same equity, have been subjected to the like punishment.

Vane's courage abandoned him not in the last extremity. Though naturally timid, the persuasion of a good cause supported him against the terrors of death; while his enthusiasm, animated by the hopes of glory, adorned the conclusion of that life, which, through the whole course of it, it had so much deformed.

Left the people should be affected with pity for a brave and unhappy sufferer, drummers were planted under the scaffold, whose noise, as he began to harangue the spectators, drowned his voice, and prevented him from communicating his sentiments.

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He was not surprised at this unusual incident. After a few pious ejaculations, he laid his head upon the block with great fortitude, and submitted his neck to the stroke of the executioner.

It was observed, that, as Vane, by being the principal author of Strafford's death, had first opened the door for the introduction of all those calamities, which overwhelmed the nation; so by his own death he closed the scene of blood. He was the last that suffered on account of the late commotions.

Lambert, though condemned, was indulged with a reprieve; and the judges affirmed, that if Vane had behaved with equal modesty and submission, he would have met with like clemency from the king. Little credit, however, was given to this assertion, as it was generally believed that a resolution had been taken to sacrifice him to the manes of the earl of Strafford.*

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* His friends endeavoured to persuade him to make some submissions to the king, in order, if possible, to save him: but he answered them short: " If the king does not think himself more concerned for his word and honour, than I am for my life, I am very willing to lose it. Nay, I declare, I value my life less in a good cause than the king does his promise."

State Trials, Tom II. p. 455.

Lambert survived his condemnation thirty-six years. He was confined in the isle of Guernsey; where he lived contented, forgetting all his former schemes of ambition, and entirely forgot by the world.

The Presbyterians were highly pleased with the condemnation of Vane and Lambert, whom they mortally hated; but their joy was soon damped by an event, in which they were more nearly concerned. St. Bartholomew now approached, the day, when the clergy were obliged, by the act of uniformity, either to abandon their livings, or to subscribe the articles enjoined by that statute.

A resolution had been formed by the more zealous of the Presbyterian ecclesiastics to refuse the subscription, in hopes, that the bishops would be afraid at once to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers.

The Catholic party, who were strong at court, and wished for nothing more than a rupture among the Protestants, endeavoured to confirm them in this resolution, and gave them reason to believe that the king would protect them in their refusal. The king himself, by his dubious behaviour, contributed, either from design or accident, to strengthen this opinion.

To the great surprise of every one, about two thousand of the clergy, in one day, abandoned their cures ; and sacrificed their interest to their religious principles. Some attempts were made to procure a fifth of the livings to the ejected ministers ; the same allowance, which the Presbyterians had granted to the episcopalians during the dominion of the parliament : but this proposal, though warmly enforced by the peers, was finally rejected.

Bishoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, great leaders among the Presbyterians : the last only could be persuaded to comply. Deaneries and other promotions were refused by many,

The next measure of the king has exposed him to much censure ; and is regarded as one of the greatest blemishes of his reign : it is the sale of Dunkirk to the French.

The narrow revenue of the king, and his lavish and profuse disposition, always kept him in necessity ; and notwithstanding all the supplies voted him, his treasury was still very empty, and even great debts had been contracted.

Two hundred thousand crowns had been remitted him by France ; but the forces, which he sent to Portugal, and the fleets, which

which he maintained for the assistance of that kingdom, had already exhausted that sum, together with double the money, which he had received for the queen's dowry.

The time appointed for the payment of his sister's portion to the duke of Orleans was now drawing near. Tangiers, a fortress, from which, it was hoped, great benefit would be derived, was become an additional charge on the crown ; and Rutherford, the governor of Dunkirk, had raised the annual expences of that garrison to near a hundred thousand pounds.

These considerations appeared of such moment, not only to Charles, but also to Clarendon, that that able minister was the most forward in persuading his master to accept of a sum of money in lieu of a fortress, which, from the scanty nature of his revenue, and his other immense expences, he was no longer able to support.

By the treaty with Portugal it was agreed, that Dunkirk should never be restored to the Spaniards : France was therefore the only power that could make the purchase.

The chancellor himself wrote a letter to D'Estrades, desiring him to come over to England, in order to treat about the bargain. The English demanded nine hundred thousand pounds : the French offered one hun-

dred thousand. The English lessened their demands : the French increased their offer : and the bargain was concluded at four hundred thousand pounds. The artillery and stores alone were supposed to be worth a fifth part of the sum.

Great clamour was raised against this measure of the king's. It was even said, that if usurpers were so brave and fortunate as to gain acquisitions, and lawful princes were so weak or wicked as to sell them, it were much better to be governed by the former than the latter.

It is certain, however, that, considering the narrowness of Charles's revenue, and the greatness of his expences, many of which, it must be owned, were very unnecessary, he was little able to maintain the garrison of Dunkirk : but it is equally certain, that the parliament would have chearfully undertaken the maintenance of it, could the king have been persuaded to commit to them the care of that fortress.

But this, it is said, he esteemed a dangerous expedient, being afraid, lest a body so popular and powerful, should acquire any separate dominion or authority: a plain proof that a mutual confidence and good understanding, were not, as yet, established between the prince and the people.

A new accident gave such a specimen of the king's character and principles, as the people for some time were at a loss how to explain, but such as the succeeding events of his reign rendered sufficiently clear and manifest. He published a declaration under pretence of softening the rigours, contained in the act of uniformity.

After expressing his firm resolution to adhere to the general indemnity, and to depend entirely on the affections of his subjects, not on any military force, for the support of his throne; he mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience, which he had given in his declaration from Breda: and he added, "That, as in the first place, he had been zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of England, in discipline, ceremony, and government, and shall ever constantly maintain it; so, as for what concerns the penalties upon those, who, living peaceably, do not conform themselves thereunto, through scruple and tenderness of misguided conscience; but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way, he would make it his special care, so far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wisdom, next approaching

"fessions, to concur with him in making
"some such act for that purpose, as may
"enable him to exercise with a more uni-
"versal satisfaction, that power of dispen-
"sing, which he conceived to be inhe-
"rent in him."

Here a most important prerogative was assumed by the king; but under such a cautious and obscure manner as might deceive the generality of the people, and prevent a rupture between him and his parliament.

In this declaration, his avowed intention was to grant an indulgence to the Presbyterians; but it was strongly suspected, that he had another and a deeper design in view.

During his exile, he had conceived a strong prepossession in favour of Popery; and, if we may believe the accounts of some authors, had already been reconciled in form to the Romish church.

The earnest entreaties of the queen-mother, the example of the people with whom he lived, the desire of a more splendid and magnificent form of worship, the hopes of indulging in his pleasures with greater liberty: all these motives had a powerful influence on a young prince, whose careless and volatile temper rendered him incapable of adhering

hering firmly to the principles of his early education.

But if the fickle, inconstant humour of Charles made him an easy convert to Popery, the same unsettled disposition ever hindered the ridiculous and dangerous prejudices of that sect from taking fast possession of his mind.

During his hours of mirth and jollity, which almost engrossed the whole of his time, he seems to have entertained a contempt for all forms of religion; and he might more properly be called a Deist than a Catholic.

But in his moods of serious reflection, which indeed were short and unfrequent, when his penetrating, but indolent understanding was clouded with fears and apprehensions, he had starts of more sincere conviction, and a sect, which promised such an easy composition for all his irregularities, as it flattered his inclination, so was it considered as the most rational.

But, though the king thus fluctuated, during his whole life, betwixt irreligion, which he more openly avowed, and Popery, to which he had a secret propensity, his brother, the duke of York, had zealously embraced all the prejudices of that absurd superstition.

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His violent temper and mean capacity made him a thorough convert, and his confidence in his own abilities effectually prevented the admission of doubts, either from his own inquiry or the suggestions of others.

By his vigour and industry, he had obtained a great ascendant over the king, who, though indued with a better judgment, was impatient of the fatigue of business, and was glad to devolve the burthen of affairs on the duke, of whom he entertained no jealousy.

Under pretence of gratifying the Protestant dissenters, they formed a plan for granting a general toleration, and indulging the Catholics with the free exercise of their religion; at least the exercise of it in private houses.

Glad, therefore, were the two brothers to find, that so numerous and popular a body as the Presbyterian clergy had refused conformity; and they imagined, that, under shelter of their name, the dangerous and hated sect of the Catholics might obtain favour and protection.

But though the king alledged, in excuse, his solemn promises of toleration, and advanced several other specious topics, the parliament, who met a little after the declaration

tion was published, determined to defeat this measure.*

The avowed design of gratifying the Dissenters, and the secret resolution of supporting the Catholics, were equally disagreeable to them; and in these sentiments they were confirmed by the king's ministers themselves, particularly the chancellor.

They accordingly drew up a remonstrance, which they presented to his majesty. They there insisted, that his declaration from Breda contained no promise of toleration to the Presbyterians and other Dissenters, but such as should be approved by the parliament; that even supposing the Non-conformists were entitled to plead a promise, they had committed this claim, with all their other rights and privileges, to the house of commons, who represented them, and who now absolved the king from that obligation; that it could not be alledged, that his majesty and the houses were so fettered by that declaration, as to be rendered incapable of making any laws, which might interfere with it; that even at the King's restoration, there were laws in force, which could not be suspended but by act of parliament; and that the intended indulgence

gence would be extremely prejudicial both to church and state, would introduce schism, propagate faction, disturb the public tranquillity, and reflect on the wisdom of the legislature. From the determined spirit of this remonstrance, the king perceived, that it would be dangerous for him at present to persist any longer in the prosecution of his scheme.

In order to preclude the Catholics from all hopes of indulgence, the two houses thought proper to present a remonstrance against them.

The king gave a very obliging answer : he even issued a proclamation against Jesuits and Romish priests ; but he took care, by the terms, in which it was expressed, entirely to destroy its effect.

The parliament had agreed, that all foreign priests, belonging to the two queens, should be excepted, and should be allowed without molestation to continue in England. In the proclamation, the word "foreign," was purposely left out ; and the queens were, by that means, intitled to grant protection to as many English priests as they pleased.

To gratify the king for these concessions, however deceitful, the parliament thought proper, upon his application, to vote him

a supply of four subsidies ; and this was the last time that taxes were raised in this manner.

In the course of this session, several laws were enacted relating to trade. Some rules were likewise established for putting the militia into better order ; and it was decreed, that the king should not have the power of keeping them under arms above fourteen days in the year.

During the exile of the royal party, a cordial friendship had always prevailed between Clarendon and Bristol : but since the restoration, this harmony had been greatly diminished by the chancellor's refusing to give his assent to some grants, which Bristol had solicited for a court lady ; and a little after, the latter noblemen, prompted by the natural impetuosity of his temper, broke out against the minister in the most violent manner.

He even went so far as to impeach him of high treason before the house of peers ; but the charge had been so ill digested, that the judges, when consulted, gave it as their opinion, that, neither for its matter nor its form, could it legally be admitted.

The articles, indeed, favour more of the frantic ravings of a furious enemy, than the cool judgement of a determined foe, bent

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on the ruin of his antagonist; and Bristol himself was so conscious of his imprudence, that, for some time, he thought proper to abscond.

He was possessed of excellent parts; was distinguished for his eloquence, his spirit, and his wit: but, notwithstanding all these qualities, he could never recover the character which he lost by this rash and imprudent measure.

Clarendon, however, though he had been able to repel this attack, was visibly declining in his credit at court; and in proportion as the king had less occasion for his services, he began to withdraw his attachment from a minister, whose views were so incompatible with his own.

The king's favour for the Catholics was always condemned by the chancellor, the liberties of the nation secured against the attempts of the violent royalists, prodigal grants restrained or refused, and the dignity of his own character so much supported by Clarendon, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did likewise his friend Southampton, never to engage in any connection with the royal mistresses.

The king's favourite at that time was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created duchess of Cleveland: a woman, proud, prodigal, profligate,

digate, revengeful. She employed all her influence with the king to ruin Clarendon's credit ; and her endeavours, unhappily, were attended with too much success. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was deprived of the seals ; and Sir Harry Bennet, his declared enemy, was entrusted with that office. Bennet was soon after created lord Arlington.

Ingratitude indeed seems to have been a distinguishing part of the king's character. He shut his ears and his hands against all the petitions and applications of the unhappy royalists, many of whom had been reduced to beggary and want by their attachment to him and his father.

The parliament had more generosity : they took some notice of the poor cavaliers ; and at one time distributed among them about sixty thousand pounds. Mrs. Lane likewise and the Penderells had handsome presents and pensions from the king.

But the greatest part of the royalists were still involved in poverty and distress ; aggravated by the cruel disappointment of their sanguine hopes, and the additional mortification of seeing all places of power and profit possessed by their inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they alledged, that it was an act

of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends; so that ~~the~~^{the} parliament meeting after a short prorogation, still continued to adhere to the same principles, which had influenced them in all their former sessions. The exaltation of the monarchy and hierarchy were still the objects of their care; and in no period, it may be affirmed, did this spirit more plainly exceed the bounds of reason and moderation. The king, in his speech to the parliament, had presumed openly to require a repeal of the triennial bill; and he even had the assurance to declare, that, notwithstanding the laws, he would never suffer any parliament to be convoked by the methods prescribed in that famous statute.

The parliament, without taking umbrage, as might have been expected, at this declaration, repealed it; and in place of all the securities formerly provided, contented themselves with a general clause, importing, that parliaments should not be discontinued above three years at most. Before the conclusion of this reign the nation experienced, to their cost, the bad effects of this repeal, and had reason to condemn the servile disposition of the parliament, who voted away the common rights of the subjects.

1664. * A.D. 1664.

ment; even more, if possible, than the encroaching spirit of the king. By the Uniformity bill it was enacted, that every clergyman, who should officiate without being duly ordained, should be liable to fines and imprisonment. But this penalty was not deemed sufficient by the zealots of that age. It was now decreed, that, wherever five persons, above those of the same family, should assemble in a religious congregation, everyone of them was liable, for the first offence, to an imprisonment of three months, or to a fine of five pounds; for the second, to an imprisonment of six months, or a fine of ten pounds; for the third, to be transported for seven years, or to pay a fine of one hundred pounds.

This law breathes the true spirit of those persecuting maxims which were adopted by Laud, and were one chief cause of all the dreadful calamities, which soon after overwhelmed the nation; and could the authors of the present measure have been subjected to the same calamities, without endangering the public tranquillity, every lover of civil and religious liberty we believe, would have heartily given his consent.

The commons likewise voted, that the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities, offer-

ed to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces, had greatly interrupted the trade of the nation ; that his majesty should be intreated to procure reparation for these damages ; and that in the prosecution of this affair they would assist him with their lives and fortunes against all opposition whatsoever.

This was the prelude to a Dutch war, which seems not to have been owing to the reasons here assigned, but to very different motives.

Charles, whose profusion kept him always in want, expected that he should be able to divert to his private use some of the supplies granted for the maintenance of the war : he delighted in ship-building, and was ambitious of equipping a navy that should command the superiority of the ocean : his brother, already actuated by those bigotted prejudices, which ever after influenced his conduct, longed for an opportunity of signalizing his courage and his power as high-admiral, against a people whom he hated, not only for their republican principles, but as one of the chief bulwarks of the Protestant religion : the trading part of the nation considered them as their most dangerous rivals in commerce : and the royal African company, in particular, had been

been opposed by the Dutch in establishing their settlements on the coast of Guinea.

From such views the court and parliament were, both of them, disposed to a war with Holland. The parliament was prorogued without granting any supplies: but as they had been induced, seemingly of their own accord, to pass that vote abovementioned, it was reasonably regarded, as sanction sufficient for those vigorous measures, which were proposed to be adopted.

Downing, the English resident in Holland, delivered a memorial to the States, containing a list of those depredations, of which the English complained.

It is observable, that the pretended depredations were committed before the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed with the Dutch; and these complaints were then deemed either so unjust, or so trifling, that they had not been mentioned in that treaty.

Meanwhile, as Charles was fully determined on the war, without waiting for the answer of the States, he secretly dispatched Sir Robert Holmes, with a fleet of twenty-two ships, to the coast of Africa.

Holmes not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had some plausible claim: he likewise made himself

master of the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde and the isle of Goree, together with several ships trading on that coast: and failing to America, he seized Nova Belgia, since known by the name of New-York; a district, which James the first had granted by patent to the earl of Stirling, but which had never been occupied by any but the Hollanders.

When the States remonstrated against these hostilities, the king, unwilling to avow what he had done, affected a total ignorance of Holmes's enterprize; and, the better to carry on the deception, he committed Holmes to the tower; but soon after set him at liberty.

The Dutch, finding that no redress was to be expected by fair means, resolved to have recourse to force of arms, and they instantly exerted an act of vigour which hastened on the rupture. Sir John Lawson and De Ruyter had sailed with combined squadrons into the Mediterranean in order to chastise the pyratical states on the coast of Africa; and the time of their separation was now at hand.

The States sent secret orders to De Ruyter, to direct his course towards the coast of Guinea, and retort on the English the hostilities which they had committed,

and

and re-establish the Dutch in possession of those settlements, of which they had been so unjustly deprived.

De Ruyter executed the commission with his usual vigour and success. He retook all the conquests which the English had made, except Cape Corse. He even expelled them from some of their old settlements. He seized all the English ships that fell into his hands. He next steered towards America: he attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed: he afterwards made an attempt on Long Island.

The spirit of the English being rouzed by these hostilities, the naval preparations were carried on with uncommon diligence. No supplies had been granted by parliament: but the king, by his own interest and credit, was enabled to fit out a fleet: the city of London obliged him with a loan of an hundred thousand pounds: the inclinations of the people ran strong towards war: he himself visited the sea-ports, inspected the works, and encouraged and rewarded the men: and, in a short time, the English navy was put into a very formidable condition. This armament is said to have cost no less than eight hundred thousand pounds.

When Lawson returned, and signified his suspicion of DeRuyter's intentions, orders were given

given for seizing all Dutch ships ; and about a hundred and thirty-five of them fell into hands of the English. These, however, were not condemned nor declared prizes till the proclamation of the war, which soon after happened.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-fourth of November, granted a supply, the largest by far, that had ever been bestowed on any English monarch ; about two millions and a half were voted, to be raised by quarterly payments in three years. The hopes of plunder and of rich captures had made all men eager for the war with Holland.

The Dutch, before they would come to extremities, endeavoured once more to compose the quarrel in an amicable manner ; but seeing all their applications slighted, they prepared themselves for war with great vigour and unanimity.

The man, who, at that time directed all their measures, and infused spirit into the whole community, was the famous John de Wit, a minister equally distinguished for greatness of mind, for extent of capacity, and for integrity of manners. Though modest in his private behaviour, he well knew how to support, in his public conduct, that

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magnanimity which becomes the minister of a great state.

It was always his opinion, that no independent government should ever make any mean or unreasonable concessions to another ; and that all such compliances, instead of preventing war, served only to invite farther insults and indignities.

By his management a spirit of harmony was preserved in all the provinces ; great sums were raised ; and a navy was prepared, consisting of larger ships than any which the Dutch had ever built before, and able to contend with the fleet of England.

Charles was no sooner informed of the hostilities committed by De Ruyter, than he instantly declared war against the States.* His fleet, amounting to an hundred and fourteen sail, exclusive of fire-ships and ketches, was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert and the gallant earl of Sandwich. It carried on board about twenty-two thousand men.

Opdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, received positive orders to give battle to the enemy. In the heat of the action, when engaged in furious combat with the duke of York, Opdam's

* A. D. 1665.

dam's ship blew up; and himself and all his crew were entirely destroyed.

This incident decided the fortune of the day. The Dutch, disheartened by the death of their admiral, immediately gave way, and fled towards their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral, killed during the protectorship, continued to make some resistance; and, by presenting to the enemy a bold and intrepid countenance, protected the retreat of his countrymen. The Dutch had nineteen ships sunk or taken. The English lost only one.

It is universally allowed, that this victory might have been more complete, had it not been for orders to slacken sail given by Broucker, one of the duke's bedchamber, and who said, he was authorised by his master. The duke disowned the orders; but Broucker was never sufficiently punished for his presumption.

It is confessed, however, that during the whole action, the duke discovered equal courage and conduct. He was long engaged in the hottest of the battle. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot, at his side, and besmeared him with their blood and brains.

Some people imagined, that Broucker had made use of the duke's name without his

his authority, in consequence of an injunction of the dutchess, who had ordered him to take all opportunities of consulting the personal safety of his master.

Others pretend that the duke's courage was exhausted ; and that he was affected by an expression of admiral Penn, who said, that they must now prepare for a hotter engagement, for the courage of the Dutch was never so high, as when they were reduced to despair.

Be this as it will, certain it is, the Dutch were thrown into the most terrible consternation : so that De Wit, who was the soul of all their councils, found it necessary to exert his military capacity, in order to revive the drooping spirits of his countrymen.

He repaired on board the fleet, which he took under his command ; and he soon rectified all the disorders occasioned by the late misfortune.

The genius of this man seems to have been equally well adapted for every employment. He soon became as accomplished a seaman, as if he had been bred to that profession ; and he even carried some parts of navigation to a higher degree of perfection than those who were most conversant in that art had ever been able to attain. It

It is not to be supposed that the neighbouring states of Europe would long remain indifferent spectators of this violent contest between England and Holland. The French king had concluded a defensive alliance with the States; but as his naval force was yet in its infancy, he was extremely unwilling, at that time, to expose it to the danger of a total annihilation, by engaging in a war with so formidable a power as England.

He therefore endeavoured to effect an accommodation between the contending parties; and with this view sent an embassy to London, which, however, failed of its purpose. Hollis, the English ambassador at Paris, attempted to secure Lewis in the interest of England; and, in his master's name, made him the most tempting offers. He promised to abandon to the French all the Spanish Low-Countries, without laying claim to a foot of ground for himself; on condition that Lewis should allow him to pursue his advantages against the Dutch.

But the French monarch, though he had already set his heart on the reduction of that valuable territory, rejected the proposal as inconsistent with his interest: he imagined, that, if the English had once acquired an uncontrollable dominion over the sea and

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GEORGE P. of DENMARR



J. Smith sculp.

Engrav'd for Kidder's History of England

and over commerce, they would soon be able to prescribe laws even to him.

For this reason, he resolved to assist the Dutch, agreeable to his engagements ; but he thought proper to conceal his intentions, until the naval preparations, which he was now carrying on, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean, should be fully compleated.

Meantime the friendship of the Danish king was eagerly courted both by the Dutch and by the English ; and the part which that prince acted was extremely unaccountable. He entered into a private treaty with Charles, by which he engaged to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to divide the spoils with the English, provided they would assist in accomplishing this project.

In order to render his prey the more valuable, he treacherously endeavoured, by the most solemn professions of friendship, to draw all the Dutch ships into his ports ; and accordingly the East-India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen.

Sandwich, who now commanded the English navy (for the duke had returned to London) sent Sir Thomas Tiddiman with a squadron to attack them ; but whether the king of Denmark had neglected to transmit orders to the govenour, or, what is

more likely, was desirous of engrossing the whole booty, the English admiral, though he exerted himself with great courage and conduct, miscarried in the attempt. The Danish governour fired upon him, and the Dutch, having had time to put themselves in a posture of defence, made a very brave and gallant resistance.

The king of Denmark, pretending to be sorry for his late behaviour, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy, an offensive alliance against the States; and at that very instant, his ambassador at the Hague, by his orders, contracted an offensive alliance against England.

The first alliance he afterwards disowned, probably from a jealousy of the growing power of this island; and he seized and condemned all the English ships in his harbours. Charles was equally surprised and alarmed at this unexpected incident.

Not only had the English commerce suffered a severe blow, the king of Denmark's naval force was considerable, and if joined to the Dutch, might be able to cope with the whole navy of England, and render the event of the war very uncertain. That prince engaged to assist his allies with a fleet of thirty sail; for which he was gratified with an annual subsidy of fifteen hundred thou-

thousand crowns; a fifth part of which was paid by France.

Charles endeavoured to fortify himself against these confederates by acquiring new friends and allies. For this purpose he applied to the court of Spain; but his applications were rejected. His alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers, the sale of Dunkirk to the French; all these injuries had made so deep an impression on the mind of the Spanish monarch, that no views of interest were able to outweigh.

Charles succeeded better with the bishop of Munster; a man of a restless and enterprising temper, who had conceived a violent antipathy against the States; and who was easily induced, by the promise of subsidies from England, to make an invasion into that republic. With an irregular, but numerous army, he attacked their territories, and met with no equal resistance.

The land forces of the States were as weak and ill governed, as their fleets were brave and powerful. But after having ravaged several of the provinces, the warlike prelate found, that it would be impossible to proceed in his conquests. He possessed not military skill sufficient to avail himself

of the advantages, which fortune had thrown in his way,

A French army of six thousand men appeared to oppose his progress : subsidies were not regularly paid him by England : many of his troops began to desert for want of pay : the elector of Brandenburg threatened him with an irruption into his own state : and, on the whole, he was glad to extricate himself from all these dangers and difficulties by agreeing to a peace under the mediation of France.

On the first report of his intentions, Sir William Temple was dispatched from London with money to confirm him in his former alliance ; but found, on his arrival, that the prelate had already concluded an agreement.

From all these favourable circumstances the Dutch collected fresh spirit, and resolved to exert the utmost vigour in opposing the designs of the enemy.

De Kuyter, their great admiral, was returned from his expedition to Guinea : their Indian fleet was arrived safely in their harbours : their ports were crowded with merchant ships : all parties were united by a sense of common danger : the young prince of Orange had put himself under the tuition of the states of Holland, and of De Wit, their pensionary,

sionary, who discharged his trust with equal care and ability: and the general resentment against the attack of the English, so unjust and unprovoked, as they deemed it, made them flatter themselves with the agreeable hopes of better success in the next enterprize. So eager were all men in the common cause, that, in order the better to man their fleet, an embargo was laid on all merchant ships, and even the fisheries were totally suspended.

The English likewise retained the same disposition; though at this time afflicted with another calamity still more terrible than that of the war. The plague had broke out in London; and raged with such violence, that, in the space of a year, it carried off no less than a hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The king was obliged to abandon London, and retire to Oxford, where he summoned the parliament, which met on the tenth day of October.

The parliament continued to discover the same principles, by which they had hitherto been governed. They unanimously concurred in voting his majesty a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds, to be levied in two years by monthly assessments. In return for this liberal grant, the king gave his assent to the five mile act,

which has been the subject of such general and such just complaints. The zealous churchmen, under pretence of securing the sovereign against the attempts of his inveterate enemies, were firmly determined to wreak their own vengeance upon the Non-conformists.

It was decreed, that no dissenting teacher, who refused the oath of non resistance, should, except upon the road, approach within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached after the act of indemnity. Whoever transgressed this law, was liable to a fine of fifty pounds, and six months imprisonment.

Great as was the interest of the hierarchy, this law was not passed without violent opposition. Besides several peers, who professed more moderate principles, Southampton himself, though Clarendon's great friend, inveighed bitterly against these arbitrary measures.

But the violent party, not dispirited by this opposition, introduced into the house of commons, a bill for exacting the oath of non-resistance from every individual in the nation; and so great influence did they possess, that the question was only lost by three voices. The parliament having finished

ed all their business in a session of about three weeks, was at last prorogued.

By this time France had openly espoused the cause of the Dutch, and resolved to assist them with the utmost vigour. Lewis had ordered the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to set sail from Toulon; and the French squadron, of above forty sail, under his command, was now commonly believed to be passing through the channel.

The Dutch fleet, consisting of seventy sail, was at sea, under the command of De Ruyter and Tromp, who were hastening to join him. The duke of Albemarle, and prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which only amounted to seventy-four sail.

Albemarle, who, from his signal successes under the protectorship, was but too much inclined to despise the enemy, resolved to detach prince Rupert in order to make head against the duke of Beaufort, Sir George Ayscue, well acquainted with the courage and conduct of De Ruyter, remonstrated against the danger of this resolution: but Albemarle's authority prevailed.

The rest of the English fleet advanced to give battle to the Dutch; who, seeing the enemy approach, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle which
fol-

followed, is one of the most remarkable, which occurs in history; whether we consider the time, which it lasted, or the obstinate bravery, with which it was disputed.

In this action Albemarle atoned by his valour for the imprudence of the attempt. No youth, elevated by a love of glory and the hopes of advancement, could display greater spirit and intrepidity, than did this man, who was now in the decline of life, and who had attained the summit of honours.

To mention every particular of the action would be tedious and perhaps disagreeable: it will be sufficient to relate the principal events of each day's engagement; for the fight lasted no less than four days.

In the first day Sir William Berkley, vice-admiral, who commanded the van, fell into the thickest of the enemy, and, after an obstinate resistance, was at last over-powered by numbers, and his ship taken. He himself was found dead in his cabin, all besmeared with gore.

The English had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew so high that they could not open their lower tier, they derived little benefit from this circumstance. The Dutch shot, however, fell chiefly on

their sails and rigging ; and few ships were either sunk or shattered.

In this battle it is that chain shot is said to have been first used ; and the invention of it is commonly ascribed to De Wit. Sir John Harman acquired great honour this day ; having killed the Dutch admiral Evertzen in the heat of the battle. Darkness put an end to the combat.

In the second day, the wind was somewhat fallen, and the battle became more fierce and more obstinate. The English now found, that the most undaunted courage cannot compensate for inferiority of numbers against an enemy, who is well conducted, and who is not deficient in courage.

De Ruyter and Van Tromp, actuated by the same love of glory, and inspired with a mutual jealousy and hatred, endeavoured to eclipse each other by the boldness of their actions ; and De Ruyter had the singular advantage of disengaging and rescuing his enemy, who had been surrounded by the English, and was in the utmost danger of either being sunk or taken.

In the course of the action, the Dutch were re-inforced by sixteen fresh ships : the English had suffered so severely, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight,

eight, and they found it necessary to retire towards their own coast. The Dutch pursued them, and were ready to renew the combat ; when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the action.

Next morning the English were obliged to continue their retreat ; and the fleet was put into a proper disposition. The shattered ships were placed in the van ; and sixteen of the most entire brought up the rear, and restrained the enemy from too eager a pursuit. Albemarle himself commanded in the last ship, and presented a determined countenance to his victorious foes.

The earl of Ossory, son to Ormond, a young nobleman of the most promising hopes, who sought glory and honour in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the admiral. To him Albemarle declared, that, rather than yield to the enemy, he was resolved to blow up his ship and to commit himself to the mercy of heaven. Ossory approved of this desperate resolution.

About two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were just on the point of renewing the fight, when a fleet was discovered from the south, advancing with full sail towards the scene of action.

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The Dutch hoped, that Beaufort was come to intercept the retreat of the vanquished : the English believed that prince Rupert was arrived to give assistance to his friends. Albemarle, who had been secretly apprized of the prince's approach, directed his course towards him.

It happened unfortunately, that Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of an hundred guns, the largest in the fleet, run aground on the Galloper-sands, and could receive no assistance from his countrymen, who were hastening to meet the reinforcement.

He could not even enjoy the satisfaction of perishing gloriously, and selling his life at a dear rate to the enemy. They were preparing to set him on fire, and he was obliged, with extreme reluctance, to strike. The English sailors, compelled by necessity, with the utmost indignation yielded themselves prisoners.

Albemarle and prince Rupert were resolved to give battle to the enemy ; and next morning the fight was renewed with more equal force, and more desperate valour than ever.

After cannonading for a long time, the fleets came to a more close combat ; and the ships grappling with each other, the men fought hand to hand, as if they had been in

in a land-engagement. A thick mist at length put an end to the battle. The English retired first into their harbours. Both sides laid claim to the victory ; but it is evident the Dutch had the advantage ; though considering the great inequality of number, the chief glory was due to the English.

The French admiral was now ready to enter the channel, and to join his allies ; and in order to facilitate this conjunction, De Ruyter, who had refitted his ships, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames.

The English did not long brook this indignity. Albemarle and prince Rupert hastened out to attack him. Each fleet consisted of about eighty sail ; and the fight soon began with incredible fury.

Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, fell upon the Dutch van, which he entirely defeated ; having killed the three admirals who conducted it. Van Tromp attacked Sir Jeremy Smith ; and, during the heat of the action ; he was parted from De Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design, is altogether uncertain.

De Ruyter, with great courage and conduct, continued to sustain the fight against the main body of the English till night put an

an end to the combat. Next day, seeing the Dutch fleet scattered and dispersed, he was obliged, notwithstanding his high spirit, to submit to a retreat, which he yet accomplished with such ability, that he acquired as much honour, as if he had gained the greatest victory.

Fired with indignation, however, at the defeat he had suffered, he often exclaimed, " My God! what a wretch am I? among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" De Wit, his son-in law, who stood near him, said, that, since he was so desirous of death, he ought to turn back upon the English, and sell his life at a dear rate to the victors. But De Ruyter thought it more worthy a brave man to guard against despair, and, as long as he could, to be serviceable to his country.

All night and next day the English hung upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the bravery and conduct of De Ruyter, that the latter were brought into their ports.

The English now rode incontestible masters of the sea, and braved the Dutch in their harbours. Holmes with a detachment entered the road of Ulie, and destroyed a hundred and forty merchantmen, two

men of war, together with Braridion, a large and rich village on the coast.

The merchants, who suffered by this enterprise, conjoining themselves with the Orange faction, inveighed bitterly against an administration, which, they alledged, had exposed their country to such disgrace and ruin. None but the steady and determined mind of De Wit could have maintained its courage amidst such a complication of misfortunes.

The king of France, fearing that the Dutch would sink under their calamities; at least, that De Wit, his friend, might be deprived of the administration, hastened the departure of the duke of Beaufort. The Dutch fleet too was by this time repaired; and, under the command of De Ruyter, cruised near the straits of Dover. Prince Rupert, with the English fleet, now more formidable than ever, advanced full sail against them.

The Dutch admiral judged it most prudent to avoid an engagement, and withdrew into St. John's road near Bulloigne. Here he secured himself both from the English, and from a terrible tempest, which followed. Prince Rupert too was obliged to take shelter in St. Helens; where he continued for some

some time, in order to repair the damages which he had suffered by the storm.

Meantime the duke of Beaufort sailed up the channel, without being discovered by the English ; but found not the Dutch, as he expected. De Ruyter had been attacked with a fever : many of the officers had fallen into sickness : a contagious distemper had broke out in the fleet : and the States thought it adviseable to recall them into their harbours, before the enemy could be in a condition to attack them.

The French king, unwilling to expose his fleet, which, with so much pains and industry, he had lately equipped, sent orders to the duke of Beaufort to return into Brest with the utmost expedition. That admiral had again the good fortune to elude the vigilance of the English. One ship alone, the Ruby, was taken by the enemy.

About this period, a dreadful calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great consternation. A fire breaking out in a baker's house near the bridge, diffused itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it reduced to ashes a considerable part of the city.

The inhabitants were reduced to be spectators of their own ruin ; and were chased

from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly surrounded them. Three days and nights did the fire continue to rage; and it was only by the blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The king and duke exerted their utmost efforts in order to stop the progress of the flames; but all their endeavours were of no effect.

Four hundred streets, including eighty-nine churches, many hospitals and public edifices, and thirteen thousand two hundred private houses, were entirely destroyed. The ruins, comprehending four hundred and six acres of ground, extended from the Tower along the river to the Temple church, and from the north-east gate as far as Holborn-bridge.

The streets of London were extremely narrow; the houses were built entirely of timber; the season was remarkably dry; and a violent east wind happened at that time to blow: to these causes, the surprizing progress of the fire might naturally be ascribed.

Some, however, were inclined to believe, that it was the effect, not of accident, but of design; and the republicans, and the Catholics were in their turn suspected. The inscription on the Monument imputes the

crime

crime to the latter party. This clause was erased by order of king James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced.

The fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has proved, in the event, extremely advantageous both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very short time. The king, by a stretch of prerogative, regulated the plans of the new streets, so as to render them more spacious and convenient than those which had been burned; and he prohibited the use of lath and timber, as the materials for the construction of houses.

In consequence of this improvement London became more healthy after the fire. The plague which was wont to break out with great violence twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in some corner of the city, has entirely disappeared since that calamity.

The parliament assembled soon after, and ratified and approved those regulations which the king had made; as well as appointed commissioners for determining all those questions of property, which might be occasioned by the fire. They likewise voted a supply of one million, eight hundred

thousand pounds, to be raised partly by a poll bill, partly by assessments.

The Papists, though now generally believed to have been innocent, were, at that time, so strongly suspected of being the authors of the fire, that they had incurred the hatred and resentment of the whole nation. Charles, therefore, at the desire of the commons, issued a proclamation for the banishment of all priests and jesuits; but from the bad execution of this, as well as of former edicts, the people were convinced, that the king had some secret attachment to popery, which he was either afraid or ashamed to own.

Whether suspicions of this nature had lessened the king's popularity is uncertain; but it appears, that the supply was granted much later than Charles requested, or even than the necessities of the state seemed to demand.* The cabals of the duke of Buckingham, a man of a restless and intriguing spirit, had somewhat disconcerted the measures of the court; and this was the first time that the king had ever perceived a failure of confidence in this house of commons. The rising symptoms of discontent contributed, no doubt, to hasten

hasten the steps which were already taking towards an accommodation with foreign enemies.

Charles began to apprehend, that none of the purposes, for which the war had been undertaken, could ever be fully accomplished. The Dutch, even by themselves, had been able to contend with the whole naval force of England, and were every day improving both in courage and conduct.

Though their trade had been greatly interrupted, their extensive credit made it easy for them to levy whatever sums they pleased ; and while the English sailors loudly complained of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly furnished with every thing necessary for its subsistence. As they were now assisted by two powerful monarchs, every port, from the coasts of Bayonne to the extremity of Norway, was shut against the English : and Charles, neither active nor ambitious in his temper, was glad to lay hold of any plausible pretext for concluding a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire, had so much depressed the spirits of his subjects.

End of the TWENTY-FIFTH VOLUME.

SECTION II. GENERAL.

1. The following table shows the results of the experiments.

of the proceedings of grand jury
and the grand jury's action
will be set forth in a subsequent
memorandum. The following
is a summary of the evidence
adduced by the grand jury:

2. *Amurica V. 1771. p. 179. t. 2.*

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